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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF CREOLE

II. An Historic Language: Creole Portuguese¹

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"The history of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests is on the whole also the history of the extension of the Portuguese language."

HUGO SCHUCHARDT²

"Miscegenation asserted itself among us as a physical force—or rather a biological one—and a psychological, or more particularly sentimental force, against which no other element could prevail. Against which no other element even had the necessary strength to fight with advantage. For it was both active and creative, sometimes even aggressive.

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All the important colonial powers have contributed in one way or another to the rise of Creole languages or dialects. In most colonies initially a situation arose in which white settlers or traders had to converse with imported Negroes (Brazil, Cape Verde) or aboriginal inhabitants (Guinea, India). Then what happened in the factories and plantations, in the words of Hugo Schuchardt, the great linguist and founder of Creole studies, was more or less as follows: "Both the master and the slaves aimed only at making themselves understood to the other party; the former omitted from the European languages everything particular, the latter retained from it everything particular⁴: in this way they met on an inter-

mediate line. The master for instance admitted from the very beginning that the European plural endings, such as -s in *stones* or *piedras*, or even (unstressed) *des* in *des pierres*, would meet with complete incomprehension, and therefore he applied a radical solution and said: "stone-stone" or "lots stone" or "stone much", or when the 3rd person plural or the pronoun had already become naturalized "stone they", "they stone."⁵ In his turn the slave took to the same modes of expression, because he could not use his own prefixes and suffixes in any way."⁶ I may add to this clear visualization of the origin of Creole or Pidgin, that the Negro had an articulation basis of his own, and one very different from that of the

¹The first article of this series appeared in *African Studies*, 19, 2, 1960.

²Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Kreolischen Romanisch, V, in "Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.", XIII (1890), pp. 476 and foll.; the quotation is on p. 477.

³O mundo que o Português criou, Lisbon, s.d. (1st edition: Rio de Janeiro, 1940), p. 41.

⁴dieser hielt alles besondere von ihr zurück." This little sentence is ambiguous. S. F. Silva Neto (University of Rio de Janeiro) interpreted it as I did: "este deteve tudo de extraordinário dela", *Falares Crioulos, "Brasília"*, V (1950), p. 8. D. C. Hesseling, however, translated "zurückhalten" by "weglaten" i.e. "to omit, to leave out", Hoe ontstond de eigenaardige vorm van het Kreools? in "Neophilologus", XVIII (1933), p. 214.

⁵The latter plural formation also occurs in Afrikaans: *Oom Sarel hulle, Patrys hulle*, etc., with the specialized meaning of "Uncle Sarel and his people", "Patrys and his friends", etc.

⁶Die Sprache der Saramakkaneer in Surinam, "Verh. der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam", Afd. Letterk., N.R., IV (1914), p. IV.

European invaders or slavers, so that he instinctively adapted foreign words and forms to his personal habits. Hence we encounter for instance on the island of St Thomas in the gulf of Guinea,⁷ where the substratum was mainly Bantu, Creole Portuguese **bô** for *vos* "you", **tlucêlu** for *terceiro* "third" and many other similar simplifications.⁸ Moreover the Negro unconsciously introduced morphological and syntactical traits of his own tongue, such as the Bantu pronouns for the 1st person singular and 3rd person plural at St Thomas: (**u)n ga cânta uólé** "I am singing now" and **inéi ca cânta** (where **ca (ga)** may derive either from Portuguese or from Bantu). Naturally words which came originally from his own vocabulary abound: **lendum**, a song and dance, **nhon-nhon**, a snail, and several others. Here, however, the slave had to reckon with his master's power of comprehension, and much more so than when he "corrupted" Portuguese pronunciation or morphology. Still it is a fact that in my dialect inquiries on St Thomas and Principe islands I came across many more un-Portuguese words than one would have expected after nearly five centuries of Portuguese rule. More often than not they seem to belong to the special sphere of thought of the Negro or to the natural surroundings he lives in, as do for instance the terms for good and evil spirits, departed souls, hobgoblins, etc. Among these the Haitian **zombis**, corpses possessed and reanimated by malign spirits, have become of world-wide fame—or disrepute!⁹ Schuchardt rightly connected them with Mbundu **nzumbe** "evil spirit of a deceased person" and "Congolese" **zumbi** "lucky fetish".¹⁰

In my opinion many a student of Creole

has underestimated the influence of the Negro (or native) substratum, either because he was not familiar with the indigenous languages or because as a linguist he was averse to the substratum theory in general. Now it is possible to distinguish in Creole Portuguese, as in every new language sprung from another one:

I. archaisms or phenomena of conservation which are due (a) to an older phase of the original cultural language or (b) to certain dialects of it used by groups of colonists.

II. innovations or phenomena of progression, which in their turn are due either (a) to the substratum or (b) to some autonomous tendency to simplification or to other causes.

It will depend on the training and vision of the investigator whether he prefers I or II and whether in II he lays stress on (a) or (b). Often rival explanations offer themselves to the student of phenomena of creolization. In the case of the relation of Afrikaans to Dutch for instance, the two extremes are represented by D. C. Hesselink (University of Leyden), who explains the origin of Afrikaans through a Malayo-Portuguese substratum or *adstratum*¹¹, and G. G. Kloek (University of Leyden), for whom most characteristics of Afrikaans can be reduced to Dutch dialect traits.¹² In the domain of Creole Portuguese I would say that H. Schuchardt (University of Graz) represents the former conception—with various nuances—whereas J. Leite de Vasconcelos (University of Lisbon) is a typical exponent of the latter.

Of course all four types of phenomena occur. A remarkable archaism in Creole Portuguese is for instance the ending **-on**

⁷There is also a St Thomas among the Virgin Islands, where until not so long ago Negro-Dutch (or Creole Dutch) was spoken.

⁸In this article I transcribe Portuguese Creole in simplified Portuguese spelling. Notice the opening of the syllables in the first two examples, which is proper to Bantu.

⁹See i.a. C. H. Dewisme, *Les Zombis ou le secret des morts vivants*, Bilan du Mystère, n° 2, Paris, 1957.

¹⁰Die Sprache der Saramakkanege, p. V. He also gives *djombi* in Surinam Negro-English *zombi* in Trinidad Negro-French, and *zumbi-kawai* "ghostly horse" in St Thomas Negro-Dutch.

¹¹Main study: *Het Afrikaans. Bijdrage tot geschiedenis der Nederlandse taal in Zuid-Afrika*, 2nd edition, Leyden, 1923. In a case like this I prefer the term *adstratum*, because "Malayo-Portuguese"—or whatever the slave language was (in any case a type of Creole Portuguese)—was not the basis (*substratum*) on which Dutch was implanted, but a language which co-existed with it. See M. Valkhoff, *Latijn, Romaans, Roemeens, Amersoort*, 1931, p. 22.

¹²*Herkomst en groei van het Afrikaans*, Leyden, 1951.

for -ão (on St Thomas: **cloçõ** for **coração** "heart"). It is more difficult to assess dialect forms, because one has what the French call "l'embarras du choix": as a rule any form may be found in one dialect or another! In his grammar of Cape Verde Creole, B. Lopes da Silva often resorts to this sort of parallel, e.g. the 3rd person singular of the personal pronoun (**ê** or **él** for **ele**) is also common in "certain regions" of the province Tras-os-Montes.¹³ But in respect of these coincidences we have to ask ourselves why some dialect traits should have been favoured in the old colonial language and others not. The double negation of Afrikaans can be traced back to some rare dialect of the Netherlands, but it is commonly Creole and still popular in Brazilian.¹⁴ Hispanologists have more and more abandoned the once celebrated "Andalusian theory" according to which idiomatic features of varieties of South- and Central-American Spanish were explained by the influence of presumptive Andalusian colonists.¹⁵ It is a matter of course that most Creole phenomena will have to be classed in II, either under (a) or (b). But where Hugo Schuchardt devoted substantial parts of his study on St Thomas Creole to the influence of the Bantu substratum¹⁶, Antoine Meillet, a very competent French linguist, remarked that the Creole French of Mauritius and Reunion is nothing but "imperfect French" which the Negroe learnt from their masters!¹⁷ I think that I have found the solution of the problem of such divergent opinions on a relatively simple topic. I should like to cite in elucidation the example of the French language itself, which in the Middle Ages

made its appearance as a Romance tongue strongly germanized under the influence of the Frankish superstratum.¹⁸ Now when one compares Old French with Modern French one cannot help noticing what Gaston Paris, France's greatest mediaevalist, called an unconscious and instinctive *process of de-germanization*.¹⁹ In my opinion we have to apply the same line of evaluation to the Creole languages: they all have—to some greater or lesser extent—undergone a *process of de-africanization*. In France the de-germanization had probably been caused by the continuous action of Church or Late Latin, which during the Middle Ages was pre-eminently the language of the learned. In Africa and America, when contact with the mother country was not broken off (e.g. in the case of Cape Verde, Reunion, Brazil or Martinique), it was the prestige of the cultural language which in the Modern Age had an effect similar to that of Latin in Mediaeval France. In other places, where the Creole population had become conscious of a new nationality and had stuck to its language (on St Thomas) or where African influences had continued strongly (in Portuguese Guinea), the substratum is more apparent than elsewhere. But open-minded investigators may discover it even where it is less manifest, just as the romanist can analyse the Germanic impact in the common French of to-day, although Northern French and Walloon dialects are much more revealing in this respect.²⁰

In this year 1960, when Portugal and her friends commemorate the 5th Centenary of the death of Henry the Navigator, it is worth dwelling a few moments on the ex-

¹³O *dialecto crioulo de Cabo Verde*, Lisbon, 1957, p. 132.

¹⁴H. Houwens Post, *Het Portugees van Brazilië*, Groningen, Djakarta, 1957, p. 5: não retira . . . não, sipanta . . . sipanta (examples borrowed by the author from S. Silva Neto); the second form seems to be Red-Indian.

¹⁵*Ibidem*, p. 9.

¹⁶Kreolische Studien I. Ueber das Negerportugiesische von S. Thomé (Westafrika), "Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien", 101, II (1882), pp. 889-917.

¹⁷"Ici encore certains linguistes seront tentés de parler de langues mixtes; mais le matériel de la langue appartient à un idiome défini; le créole de la Réunion ou de la Martinique est du français imparfait, mais c'est du français, car c'est à l'imitation seule du français de leurs maîtres que les nègres l'ont constitué. La plus grande partie de la conjugaison a été sacrifiée; mais ce qui subsiste, l'infinitif, est français et l'on n'y trouve pas le moindre élément africain" (italics mine), *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, Paris, 1926, I, p. 85.

¹⁸It was especially W. von Wartburg (University of Basle) who insisted on the role of the *superstratum*, i.a. in *Les origines des peuples romans*, Paris, 1941.

¹⁹In Romania, XIII, pp. 598, 599.

²⁰See a.o. my article *Waals en Germaans*, "Leuvense Bijdragen", XXVIII (1936), pp. 1-26 and *Philologie et Littérature wallonnes*, Groningen, 1938, Chapitre I: Généralités.

plorations of this man of genius and the consequent expansion of the Portuguese nation. In 1415 Ceuta, its first stronghold on African soil, was occupied and from that year to the end of his studious and well-occupied life, this ascetic and stubborn figure systematically—and even scientifically!—prepared and organized the exploration of West Africa. One after the other the well-known islands and landmarks were discovered and named. Sailors came regularly to report to the Prince in his nautical institute in the Algarve province and the successive kings—his father, his brother and his nephew—followed his suggestions. Porto Santo, Madeira, the Açores, the Cape Verde islands were settled and all along the coast the toponymy reminds us of the presence of the Portuguese. In 1460 they had already rounded Cape Verde into the Gulf of Guinea and in 1471-1472, according to a legendary tradition, Pedro Escobar and João de Santarém discovered the islands of St Thomas and Príncipe.²¹ A few years later, Southern Africa was reached by Diogo Cão, who erected in 1486 a commemorative cross (*padrão*) North of what is now Swakopmund. It is from that time onwards that white civilization enters these parts of the world and every South African knows the names of Bartholemew Diaz and Vasco da Gama. Now it is a fact that the Portuguese came here not only as merchants or slavers, but likewise as explorers and missionaries, so that they are among the rare colonists who also deserve the name of civilizers.²² They mingled freely with the native population—Albuquerque, the famous viceroy in India, strongly advocated mixed marriages between Indian girls and Portuguese soldiers—and as soon as an African, Indian, Malayan, Indonesian or Chinese had become a Christian and had learned Portuguese he was considered more or less an equal, could visit Portugal and occupy posts in the colonial

administration or the Church. No wonder that with this incentive in view all inhabitants of the ports on the sea-route from Portugal to the Far East, from Guinea to Burma and even farther, acquired a nodding acquaintance with the Portuguese language. But literary Portuguese is a rich and varied tongue with a complicated grammar—probably the most conservative and the most difficult of all the Romance languages!—and few were those who succeeded in speaking it correctly. The others used a simplified variety, the *lingua franca*²³ that originated in the first contacts between whites and natives: this is the so-called *Creole Portuguese*. It differed according to the substrata, and Indo-Portuguese dialects for instance have a certain number of characteristics in common that distinguish them from African Creole. However, they all had a basic unity and with this speech at his command a sailor or slave could make himself understood from the ports of Portugal to Macao or Nagasaki—in Capetown too!—until far into the 18th century, perhaps even at the beginning of the 19th.

However, the linguistic situation was—and is—much more varied than one would think on the grounds of the above summary. Between the correct usage of Portuguese officials or tradesmen and the pure Creole of St Thomas island, which has become a different language, we find a gradation of varieties of more or less "broken" Portuguese. Accordingly we encounter a certain number of references to *Semi-Creole*, a type of language intermediate between pure Creole and High Portuguese. Schuchardt already dealt with this "Halbkreolisch" and mentioned cases of its use both in Creole French and Creole Portuguese.²⁴ It is clear that for a more literary usage, e.g. prayers, reports or letters, ordinary Creole did not suffice and a more refined language was needed; this new linguistic variety was obtained by "lusi-

²¹F. Tenreiro, *As ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe*, Lisbon, 1956, p. 6, n. 2.

²²The limestone crosses (*padrões*) the Portuguese erected all over the coasts of Africa, Asia and Brazil are concrete evidence of their missionary vocation.

²³I use this term in the meaning of international emergency language created especially for commercial purposes, but subsequently also used in more intimate relations.

²⁴*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch*, V. *Allgemeineres über das Indoportugiesische (Asioportugiesische)*, "Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.", XIII (1889), pp. 476 and foll.

tanizing"²⁵ the primitive Creole. It was also used by those in India (mainly half-castes) who wanted to distinguish themselves from the vulgar Creole-speakers but were incapable of reaching the high standard of literary Portuguese. S. Silva Neto (University of Rio de Janeiro) applies the term "semi-crioulo" to the particular Portuguese spoken in Diu, one of the present Portuguese possessions in India, where the original Creole has been almost entirely re-lusitanized.²⁶ Semi-Creole is therefore an intermediate and rather fluctuating form between a Creole variety and the cultural language from which it originated. It can be a rather artificial creation, used for religious or literary purposes, but it can also represent some little advanced state of creolization. Let us take for instance the Indian Portuguese such as it was spoken in Cochin (on the Malabar coast), the first fortress the Portuguese built in India (1503). In the specimens given and studied by Schuchardt²⁷ we observe that those of type A are understandable for one who knows Portuguese, except for a few Indian words and queer forms that need explanation or reflection; hence they are plainly Semi-Creole, that is to say rather superficially creolized Portuguese (the conjugation had already broken down and *ja* and *lo(go)* are used with a sort of verbal stem to render the past historic and the future: *eu ja da* "I gave", *eu lo faze* "I shall do it"). On the other hand the texts of type B are simply "bad" Portuguese and I would call them Portuguese passages with secondary Creole traits (e.g. the feminine possessive pronoun has been generalized and is used with masculine nouns).²⁸

As the reader of my first article will remember, primary Creole means in our case a new language sprung from the original

Portuguese and considered both by the speakers themselves and the Portuguese as something different from the "mother tongue", while secondary Creole refers to the Portuguese as it is "corrupted" in the mouth of the native who uses it occasionally. Being similarly a form of creolization secondary Creole has many characteristics in common with primary Creole (see one example in note 28). It corresponds to what the founder of Portuguese linguistics (Leite de Vasconcelos) in his doctorate thesis called the "portugais des Chinois" and the "portugais des Nègres", according as this linguistic variety was spoken by Macao Chinese or Brazilian Negroes.²⁹ To my thinking Semi-Creole can be considered in certain cases as primary Creole, when for instance it is distinctly felt as a divergent tongue, and this is what happens with most of the Indo-Portuguese dialects (e.g. type A of the Creole of Cochin). While primary Creole is becoming more and more extinct, secondary Creole will always arise where natives learn to speak Portuguese in Portugal's overseas territories. And conversely, where African languages borrow words or phrases from European languages we may observe similar phenomena, which are very instructive. This latter is an idea which Schuchardt most happily developed and put into practice in one of his first studies in Creole, chiefly about Portuguese loan-words in Bantu in Africa.³⁰

When we now want to assess the geographical and linguistic position of Creole Portuguese in this year of grace 1960—and I now deal with primary Creole—we are confronted by the greatest difficulties. Leite de Vasconcelos in his searching examination of Portuguese dialects classified Creole Portuguese under the heading "Overseas dialects" and distinguished 10 main groups.³¹

²⁵I do not know whether the verb *to lusitanize* exists, but I have to use it with the meaning of "to make Portuguese" (comp. to *anglicize*, to *gallicize*, etc.).

²⁶*Falares crioulos*, "Brasilia", V (1950), p. 12.

²⁷*Kreolische Studien, II. Ueber das Indo-Portugiesische von Cochin*, "Sitzungsber. der K. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Wien", 102, II (1882), pp. 799-816.

²⁸On St Anthony, one of the Cape Verde islands, we also find *nha* (= *minha*) both for the masculine and feminine. This is one of the many examples which prove the basic unity of Creole Portuguese.

²⁹*Esquisse d'une dialectologie portugaise*, Paris, Lisbon, 1901, pp. 50-52, 162, 181.

³⁰*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch, I. Allgemeineres über das Negerportugiesische*, "Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.", XII (1888), pp. 242 and foll. One might perhaps call this Portuguese influence on an African language tertiary creolization.

³¹op. cit., pp. 28-31.

But first of all he treated together secondary Creole (e.g. X. "Portuguese of the coasts of Africa") and primary Creole (e.g. VIII. "Creole in Portuguese Guinea") and then he wrote in 1901, whereafter in more than half a century the whole picture has necessarily changed. In the 1930's³² the Italian linguist and polyglot C. Tagliavini (University of Padua) based himself on this classification, confronting it with data provided by Schuchardt. He left out only Brazilian Portuguese and other languages which have modified more or less their essence (*essenza*) but conserve the essential characteristics of their grammar (e.g. French Canadian, Spanish American, American English, etc.). This is the study—a very good one for that matter!—on which most students of Creole draw for their general information and Silva Neto reproduced it in its entirety in 1950.³³ Still, this classification cannot possibly be considered as being any longer up to date, for too many changes have occurred since then. The process of anglicization and the general isolation of Indian and Malayan Portuguese outside the Portuguese empire, to which Schuchardt already drew attention in the 1880's,³⁴ have now continued for another eighty years. Moreover after the second World War India obtained its independence and the new government has applied a linguistic policy which favours the vernaculars at the cost of European languages. My informants have been unanimous that Malayan Portuguese on Java—Hesseling's much attacked substratum of Afrikaans!—had disappeared in the course of our century, even before the last war, so that it is not improbable that the same fate befell the Creole in Malaya. It is true that when Father A. de Silva Rego (Higher Institute of Overseas Studies, Lisbon) described it in 1942 and collected many of its folkloristic treasures, it was still alive.³⁵ In the Portuguese

possessions in India—Goa, Damão, Diu—the situation is different but not more favourable for the conservation of primary Creole. Here the original Semi-Creole has been more and more lusitanized, thanks to Portuguese administration and education, and at present there is nothing left but kinds of "regional" Portuguese with secondary Creole traits. I would not be astonished if this were also the position on Timor and Macao. Nevertheless I do not at all exclude the possibility that in certain Indian towns or regions where Creole-Portuguese was spoken until the 19th century—Mangalor, Cananor, Mahé, Cochin, or the Coromandel coast³⁶—some small groups or some families have still maintained a Portuguese tradition and have not yet forgotten the venerable language of their catholic church, but we have no information on this point. Hence the only primary Creole Portuguese which subsists and which we can study with modern methods occurs in Africa, and even here it is endangered.

Of the four islands in the Gulf of Guinea, Fernando Po, the most northerly one, and Annobón, the most southerly one, belong to Spain. According to the information I got on St Thomas and Principe islands, Fernando Po is now entirely Spanish, but on Annobón Creole Portuguese is still spoken in spite of the presence of Spanish officials and missionaries. I lacked both time and means to visit Annobón, by far the most isolated of the four, and this I regretted all the more as the dialect is slowly but surely becoming Spanish. The Creole tongue of Principe had already undergone a similar process of absorption by the official language. In the early years of this century the population had been decimated by sleeping sickness. When a new generation sprang up after the Portuguese had improved the sanitation and fought the disease, it wanted to speak Portuguese. I therefore had great difficulty

³²The 11th volume of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, in which this article (*Creole, Lingue* —) was published, bears the dates 1931-40.

³³*Falares Crioulos*, pp. 21-28.

³⁴*Beiträge*, V, passim.

³⁵*Dialecto português de Malaca*, Lisbon, 1942.

³⁶Indian Portuguese (the so-called *dialecto norteiro*) was also spoken here and there in the North-West of the Indian Peninsula (Bombay, Mahim, Bassein, Chaul, Bandora, Salsette island, etc.).

in finding suitable people who still knew the ancient dialect. After trying out two old women who were only interested in the escudos they might earn from me, I found two male representatives of the old generation quite willing to co-operate. One was a former post-office clerk (Sr Rodrigo Cassandra) and the other a native planter (Sr Marcelo de Mata). I have probably been the last investigator to take down specimens of the old slave language on this picturesque and decadent island.

The foregoing *aperçu* would suggest that the only living Creole Portuguese is probably to be found in Africa, namely:

1. Creole of the Islands in the Gulf of Guinea:
 - (a) St Thomas (São Tomé);
 - (b) Annobón (Anobom);
 - [c) Prince Island (Príncipe)].³⁷
2. Continental Creole in Portuguese Guinea.
3. Cape Verde Creole:
 - (a) Windward islands (Sotovento);
 - (b) Leeward islands (Barlovento).

There are sub-dialects in Guinea, in the two Cape Verde groups, where each of the ten largest islands has its own linguistic individuality, and—in a lesser degree—on St Thomas.

As for the older phases of Creole Portuguese our main difficulty is that nearly all the investigators based their work on written documents. A. Coelho, H. Schuchardt and J. Leite de Vasconcelos were competent romanicists and when they got a Creole text to comment upon they made the most of it. Nevertheless many of their texts make an artificial impression—especially the religious ones—and at every moment show literary features that are in contradiction with the majority of corresponding examples in the same text (e.g. a Portuguese plural or a distinction between feminine and masculine, whereas all Creole dialects abandoned these). Moreover these specimens are written in the

official Portuguese spelling and only cover fortuitous parts of the social activity of the Creoles. Of course, interpreted by clever linguists they are useful and we could not do without them, but they should have been supplemented by dialect inquiries done on the spot, taken down in phonetic transcript and covering a wide range of words and forms. Anyhow such as they are, lying before us, they do not fail to give us at least an impression both of the basic unity of the Portuguese *lingua franca* and the regional differences. We must be grateful to the three above-mentioned philologists and the many amateurs who collected or published examples of Creole from all over the world. Without them we might have conjectured the universality and extension of this historic language (thanks to allusions to it in archives),³⁸ but we would have been unable to know it. Probably we must distinguish in the old *lingua franca* two divergent types of Creole, which for that matter are likely to have overlapped each other in certain cases (e.g. at the Cape), namely an *Asian Creole* and an *African one*. Malayan Portuguese and Indian Portuguese were the main dialects of the former, while Brazilian Portuguese belonged to the latter. Asian Portuguese once extended as far as St Helena, but it became extinct there before Schuchardt's time.³⁹ Personally I noticed the Asian appearance of the (coloured) population on a visit I made to the island early in 1932; the inhabitants resemble our Cape Malayans. Of course Cape Town lay in the same Portuguese zone of influence as St Helena and we should not forget in this connection that this "halfway house" is much nearer to Batavia (now Jakarta) than to Amsterdam. On arrival in Table Bay on their way to the East the sailors rejoiced at having accomplished more than two thirds of their journey! This fact is worth knowing in order to understand that the Cape depended much more on the East Indies for its supplies (especially in slaves)

³⁷I put this name between brackets, because Creole has nearly died out on the island.

³⁸To have traced and collected these references for the old Cape will always remain J. L. M. Franken's enduring merit (*Taalhistoriese bydraes*, Amsterdam, Kaapstad, 1953)!

³⁹Beiträge, V, p. 506.

than on the Dutch mother country. Still we should not imagine that the two types and the various dialects of Creole Portuguese were very different in the 17th century. The rule of metropolitan Portugal was still too recent and the Portuguese language too well known as a universal tongue for the *lingua franca* to have already disintegrated in that period. Even in 1958 Cape-Verdian labourers on St Thomas were able to understand the local Creoles, as I could establish during my stay on the island. The opposite, however, did not happen, because the inhabitants of St Thomas lacked the linguistic training which the Cape-Verdians had acquired on account of their no fewer than ten different patois. But there is much more to be said in favour of the *basic unity* of ancient Creole Portuguese. In 1901 Leite de Vasconcelos gave an *aperçu* of the dialects of 19th century Creole Portuguese,⁴⁰ which therefore reflects a situation two centuries later than the period that occupies us. When one reads through this conscientious study, one is struck by the quantity of common features that occur from Macao in Asia to Brazil in America, where secondary Creole still abounds. Phenomena such as the reduction of the diphthongs **ei**, **oi(ou)** to monophthongs (**ê**, **ô**), the unstressed and final **-e** becoming **-i**, the disappearance of final consonants (especially the **-r** of the infinitives), **l** for **r** in the word itself, the simplification of **lh** (palatal **l**), the deflexion in the conjugation, the new tenses usually formed with prefixed adverbs, the creation of a new plural, the disappearance of the definite article, the postposition of the personal pronouns as possessives, the possession between two nouns rendered by **sua** or **s** (**minha pai sua livro**), especially in Ceylon, Malaya

and Macao,⁴¹ are scattered all over the former Portuguese empire, and they could easily be supplemented with others. I therefore think that even one of the living Creole dialects can give us an approximate idea of what the slave language at the old Cape might have been like. In particular the Creole Portuguese of St Thomas, which shows both remarkable conservatism and a great vitality, may help us here. I will come back to the dialects of St Thomas and Principe on another occasion and then study them in detail.⁴² I may, however, give here a short outline of the first results of my dialect inquiry into these last vestiges of the *lingua franca* of the old Portuguese colonial empire, which was also the language spoken by—probably—the majority of the slaves at the Cape in the time of Jan van Riebeeck and his successors. For this reason an investigation of the Creole of St Thomas and Principe has an added interest for South Africa.

On the dialect of St Thomas there exist a few notes by the romanist F. Adolpho Coelho,⁴³ a study by Schuchardt⁴⁴ and an important chapter plus vocabulary in the *Historia ethnographica da Ilha de S. Thomé* by Almada Negreiros,⁴⁵ an administrator of the island, who knew the language well. The only linguistic publication on Principe is an article by Schuchardt of 1889.⁴⁶ It was therefore high time somebody should take up again with new methods the study of Creole Portuguese before it is absorbed by literary Portuguese. These new methods comprise dialect inquiry on the spot, notation in phonetic transcript and recording of specimens on tape.

I have collected much material which I am examining at present and which I will use for a characterization of the dialects.

⁴⁰op. cit., Chapter III.

⁴¹Comp. in Afrikaans: *my pa sy (se) boek*.

⁴²In a book *Studies in Creole Portuguese, with special reference to the Cape Colony*, to come out in the collection of Publications of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies.

⁴³*Os dialectos românicos ou neo-latinos na África, Ásia e América*, "Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa", 1880, 2a série, n° 3, p. 149 and same title, plus sub-title *Notas complementares*, ibidem, 1882, 3a série, n° 8, pp. 452-457.

⁴⁴*Kreolische Studien*, I.

⁴⁵Lisbon, 1895.

⁴⁶*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch*, IV. Zum Negerportugiesischen der Ilha do Principe, "Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.", XIII (1889), p. 463.

Hence it is too early to draw conclusions but I think that it may be interesting to give here at least some first-hand impressions which I gained during my work on the spot:

1. The dialects of St Thomas and Príncipe, although both presenting the main features characteristic of Creole, are two different tongues. Dr António de Almeida is wrong when he mixes them up in his short vocabulary of anatomical terms used on the islands.⁴⁷
2. The Creole dialects of the Gulf of Guinea and those of the Cape Verde islands, which I was able to take into account thanks to B. Lopes da Silva's recent book,⁴⁸ seem to form a separate group of Portuguese Creole dialects. They represent in our day a survival of the old type of African Creole which I have alluded to.
3. The Creole of St Thomas presents sub-dialects, although not very differentiated. I noticed differences of dialect in the city of São Tomé, in the villages of Trindade and Madalena and in the locality of the Angolares. The speakers themselves are also aware of these differences. This point has never been mentioned by any of the investigators of the language of St Thomas.
4. In contrast to European dialects the Creole ones represent extremely simplified forms of the literary languages. As we have seen they have given up the complicated declension and conjugation systems of Portuguese. This does not mean that "they have no grammar"! Under declension, for instance, where the possessive pronoun has disappeared altogether, Portuguese Creole says for *my book, your book, etc. book of I, book of you, or*

even *book I, book you, etc.*⁴⁹ Under conjugation, the present tense for instance is formed with **ca**, which may be Portuguese and will then mean "here", the past tense is the simple (abridged) infinitive, the future the present plus **bi** (from *vir* "to come"), so that we encounter, transposed into English: *I here speak, you here speak, etc.* = "I speak", *I speak yesterday (or last week), etc.* = "I spoke" and *I here come speak, etc.* = "I shall speak".⁵⁰

When we peruse Baltasar Lopes da Silva's book,⁵¹ we soon realize that "São-Tomense" Creole is more appropriate for our purpose than his "Cabo-Verdiano". The author is a son of the savage and beautiful archipelago; he is principal of the grammar school in Praia and moreover a distinguished poet in his local dialect. He was therefore in a good position to give a description of the Cape Verde dialects and in doing this he also used phonetic transcript (although a most complicated system). Nevertheless the picture which the reader gradually forms in his mind is that of a great number of closely related patois, each with a variety of duplicates, triplicates or even quadruples. Thus for the indefinite pronoun "somebody" he cites the popular (**um**) **home** "a human being",⁵² which is also Brazilian and is therefore likely to be the real Creole word.⁵³ But he adds the purely Portuguese (though naturalized) pronoun **argue** (=algue), besides other Portuguese-looking expressions such as **gente, um psôa** (=uma pessoa), **criatura, crichtô** (=cristão). The latter pronouns clearly demonstrate, on the archipelago, the influence of literary Portuguese, which for that matter the writer puts above his native Creole! This bias also prevents him from seeing African influence. He confesses quite frankly: "Never did I come across a linguistic feature which presents

⁴⁷Sobre a terminologia anatómica no crioulo de S. Tomé e Príncipe, "Anais da Junta de Investigações coloniais," 1858, pp. 51-61. The above criticism does not prevent such a vocabulary from being a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the linguistic stock of the islands.

⁴⁸O Dialecto crioulo de Cabo Verde, Lisbon, 1957.

⁴⁹livlu (di) mün, livlu (di) bo, etc.

⁵⁰n ga fla, n fla onte (somana passadu), n ga bi fla, etc.

⁵¹op. cit.

⁵²For convenience' sake I have transcribed the words in simplified Portuguese spelling.

⁵³Comp. in Afrikaans ('n) mens with the same meaning. B. Lopes da Silva, op. cit., p. 167.

itself to me as necessarily originating in an African substratum."⁵⁴ Finally one misses sentences in spoken Creole and longer examples of forms used in context, which is the only scientific way to give an account of them. Except in his syntax, where small sentences are found, all we get are numerous isolated forms; these are, however, often well described and sometimes connected with similar ones in other Creole or continental Portuguese dialects. So that we can say that this monograph, without entirely doing justice to Cape-Verdian Creole, is not devoid of merit.

In my opinion the only way to handle the great variety and the fluctuating nature of the Cape Verde patois and to show them to full advantage, would be to make a *linguistic atlas* of the ten islands. This work should be based on at least 200 sentences representative of the most striking particularities in phonology and grammar. In this way the student would obtain a comprehensive view of the complex dialect geography of the archipelago and would in addition be enabled to appreciate at one glance the whole linguistic situation in a given case. Failing this linguistic atlas we shall do better to concentrate our attention upon St Thomas island, if we want to have an idea of what the *lingua franca* might have been in Africa.

Related to the Cape-Verdian is the Guinean Creole, for the Cape Verde Islands were largely populated with Negroes from the coast of Guinea. The Creole Portuguese which was originally spoken all along the coast to the Congo, has found a last refuge in the small overseas province of Portuguese Guinea. Here it is still used by the natives, who speak some thirty distinct vernaculars, for social intercourse with people of different tongues or dialects. This is the territory where, after having taken down the greatest possible quantity of linguistic material, the investigator should go into the question of the West African substratum. He would

have to work out something like the highest common factor of the native languages and see how this *ensemble* is reflected in the structure of local Creole. He should also examine what particular traits of the various languages and dialects can be found back in that same Guinean Portuguese. This would certainly not be an easy task, but the results would be most rewarding, because they would shed a vivid light on the action of a substratum—here rather an adstratum—still operating on the superposed language. This investigation could also show to what extent Cape-Verdian Creole receded from its substratum whilst becoming more or less lusitanized. It is very seldom that we can take advantage of such a particular linguistic situation as the one I have just sketched for Portuguese Guinea.

In connection with the foregoing considerations we should recall the evolution of Brazilian Creole. According to S. da Silva Neto it is still spoken by some people of low social status in the interior of this enormous land and it is likewise used nowadays—I would think in the form of Semi-Creole—by descendants of the old agrarian proletariat, "tabareus", "matutos" or "caipiras".⁵⁵ There is no doubt in my mind that these are the remnants of the ancient *lingua franca* and that in olden days Creole must have had a much greater extension in Brazil and the surrounding countries. For that matter we know for certain that it was spoken in Surinam (Dutch Guiana), where it had been brought by Portuguese Jews who had fled from Brazil in the 17th century,⁵⁶ and that the Papiamento language of Curaçao island was primitively Creole Portuguese before becoming more and more hispanized.⁵⁷ This is an aspect which I miss in the otherwise good outline of the history of Brazilian Portuguese given recently by H. Houwens Post (University of Utrecht).⁵⁸ For the rest this lusitanist certainly does justice to the complex linguistic situation in

⁵⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Quoted by H. Houwens Post, *op. cit.*, p. 16. The names are synonyms in Brazilian and mean "inhabitants of the forests or plains of the interior."

⁵⁶ Among others: L. L. E. Rens, *The historical and social background of Surinam Negro-English*, Amsterdam, 1953, Chapter III. The fusion of Negro-English and Negro-Portuguese.

⁵⁷ See H. L. van Wijk, *Orígenes y evolución del Papiamentu*, "Neophilologus," XLII (1958), pp. 169-182.

⁵⁸ *op. cit.* and in Portuguese: *O Português do Brasil*, "Revista de Portugal," Série A, XXIII (1958), pp. 69-84.

Brazil, which here and there presents analogies with South Africa. At an initial stage for instance, there were two substrata, a Red Indian one (*Tupi* or *Guarani*) and a Negro one (like the *Hottentot* and slave languages at the Cape). Houwens Post presumes that these Negroes still spoke their African vernaculars and cites examples of the influence of these on Brazilian Portuguese. This may have been possible in a few cases, but with people of other tribes the slaves will undoubtedly have spoken the Creole Portuguese which they had learnt on the African coast and in the store yards where they were dumped—sometimes for rather long periods—before being transported overseas. So the Africanisms in Brazilian are more likely to be due to African Creole than to the original native languages. Moreover the influence of the substrata was stronger there than here, because in Brazil the white settlers at an initial stage actually talked *Tupi* and *Negro-Portuguese*, whereas in South Africa it is not proved that the Cape Dutch used among themselves *Hottentot* or even the broken Portuguese of their slaves. Then, whilst social and cultural contacts between Brazil and Portugal became more and more intensive, so that in the end the linguistic creolization was almost entirely undone, South Africa in its isolation and the Boers in their isolationism remained with a speech that at first sight looks like partly creolized Dutch. Finally Brazil solved its racial problems by miscegenation and became the most famous melting-pot of all races in the world. In this way a Brazilian nationality was born in harmony and nowadays the Brazilian language does not differ more from European Portuguese than American English from British. There are also strong spiritual and intellectual ties between Brazil and the mother country and the "Lusitanitas", which symbolizes this common ideal, is not a vain word.

This brief sketch may also demonstrate

the fallacy of the argument—so often heard in South Africa—that Dutch had to disappear here as a national language because a new nationality was born. The Brazilian nationality is very different from the Portuguese one and so is a Brazilian from a Portuguese, and still they speak the same language. So do for that matter the Americans and the English, the French Canadians and the French in Europe (also very different peoples), and the Spanish American states tore themselves free from Spain, while preciously conserving its language. These few examples may suffice.

* * *

Arriving at the end of this article I can only touch lightly on the topic of the position of Creole Portuguese at the Cape in the time of the Dutch East India Company, but I intend to revert to it at a later occasion. It is astonishing to see how, in their complete ignorance of Portuguese and Portuguese history, South African and Dutch scholars grossly underestimated the importance of Creole Portuguese. Two able linguists, E. Kruisinga⁵⁹ and S. P. E. Boshoff,⁶⁰ simply found the slave language too insignificant—supposing that it had really existed at the Cape!—to have been capable of playing any part not only in the evolution of South African Dutch but practically also in the constitution of the vocabulary of Afrikaans. When in 1658 two ships arrived at Cape Town with 187 slaves from Guinea and Angola (old-established Portuguese colonies!), D. Bosman (University of Cape Town), the cleverest of Hesseling's opponents, thinks that these Negroes could not have known "Malayo-Portuguese" (or Creole Portuguese for that matter).⁶¹ Again when another cargo with 190 slaves (probably from Ceylon) was disembarked in 1677 he asserts that "Malayo-Portuguese" was no longer used as a *lingua franca* in that period.⁶² G. G. Kloeke, the advocate of

⁵⁹ Among others: *De oorsprong van het Afrikaans* in "Taal en Letteren", XVI (1906), opposed by Hesseling in the same volume. Kruisinga maintained entirely his standpoint in his last article on this topic, "Taal en Leven", II (1939), pp. 137-141.

⁶⁰ *Volk en Taal van Suid-Afrika*, Pretoria, 1921.

⁶¹ *Oor die Ontstaan van Afrikaans*, 2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1928, pp. 50, 51.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 57.

Dutch dialect influences, is more careful: although he rejects Hesseling's "Maleis-Portugees", he admits rather reluctantly that this great forerunner succeeded in proving "that at the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries much 'Bastard' Portuguese was spoken and (especially after the first period) also much Malay".⁶³ Now one has only to read Coelho, Schuchardt and other students who collected linguistic material still available in their time, to appreciate the tenacious life of Creole Portuguese. Even in Asia it was certainly still common in the 2nd half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, and we possess several specimens of it dating from the 19th. In places Asian Creole even survived into our own century, as I have shown above. The only linguists I know that have fully done justice to Creole Portuguese in Southern Africa are J. L. M. Franken (University of Stellenbosch) and J. J. le Roux (University of the Witwatersrand).⁶⁴

Thanks to Franken's delving into Cape archives, we are now able to adduce fresh direct evidence of the existence of Creole Portuguese—and of Malay for that matter—at the Cape from the 17th till the end of the 18th century;⁶⁵ he even discovered traces of it in the language of the present-day Cape Malayans.⁶⁶ In a number of studies published in various periodicals he treated topics as different as "The language of slaves' children and fornication with female slaves", "Portuguese and French in the mouth of Hottentots" or "The Afrikaans of Boniface". G. S. Nienaber deserved well of us when he collected and re-edited 14 of these studies, while adding a very thorough index. In this the reader finds i.a.

lists of persons (both members of the court of justice and ordinary Burghers) either understanding (if not speaking) Portuguese and Malay or unable to understand these tongues. There are also lists of "Bastard-Portuguese" words and phrases and a complete glossary.⁶⁷ Franken and Nienaber rightly separate Portuguese and Malay, for Hesseling's mixed "Malayo-Portuguese" tongue had become an easy target for certain South African scholars, who could now say that there had never existed such a hybrid thing and that consequently it could not have played a role at the old Cape! Last but not least Franken had the courage to publish proofs of extensive miscegenation at the Cape in those early days of Dutch colonization, thus running counter to accepted beliefs in this country;⁶⁸ in this way he has established that favourable social conditions existed for linguistic creolization.

It is true that Hesseling, the pioneer in that field, had already come to similar conclusions some 60 years ago. However his combining consistently Portuguese and Malay, a failing with which I dealt in my first article, his idea that this *lingua franca* had also been popular among white colonists, and a few minor points had made him an easy prey for South African opponents. Nowadays his theory is generally considered as having been completely refuted (though it is not!), he is the scapegoat for most University Departments of Afrikaans in the Union, and it is not a grateful task to defend him here. Hence it is very fortunate that in the 1950's fresh ground was broken by Franken and Nienaber, so that I on my part can confine myself to the study and delimitation of Creole Portuguese and the

⁶³ *op. cit.*, p. 275.

⁶⁴ The former: *op. cit.*, the latter i.a. in *Oor die Afrikaanse Sintaksis*, Amsterdam, 1923.

⁶⁵ *op. cit.*, p. 116: "Die verbreidheid van Basterportugees as *lingua franca* in die ou handelsgebied van die Portugees in die Ooste gedurende die sewentiende en agtiende eeu behoef geen betoog meer nie." The context shows that for Franken the "East" also comprises the Cape.

⁶⁶ Chapter IX: *Maleise en Portugese reliëke aan die Kaap vandag*.

⁶⁷ The word *pekenijn* has been overlooked there, but Franken cited it from a Cape document (*op. cit.*, p. 33), so that the Portuguese origin of Afrikaans *pikkenien* has now been established against S. P. E. Boshoff (University of South Africa); see my first article, note 6. It is amusing to see how a well-informed scholar like B. Kok finds himself caught between two opinions, on the one hand wishing to give examples of Portuguese words in Afrikaans, on the other hand fearing to provide in this way evidence for Hesseling's theory (*A influencia do Português na língua africana*, Lisbon, 1953 (Separata do n° 339 do "Boletim Geral do Ultramar").

⁶⁸ Franken also refuted the legend that the Cape coloured had been begotten only by passing sailors, not by the white colonists themselves. It is particularly S. P. E. Boshoff who minimizes the influence of miscegenation, *op. cit.*, i.a. pp. 360-361.

phenomena of creolization in general. I hope that my present "Contributions", too, will have clarified to some extent the nature and the extent of the Portuguese *lingua franca* as it was spoken before, during and even after the rule of the Dutch East India Company.

In a nutshell: it cannot be denied any longer in South Africa, after Franken's research, that Creole Portuguese—and Malay for that matter—was common at the Cape even before 1700, that is to say during the critical period for the transformation of Cape Dutch. Many slaves hailed from the coasts where the *lingua franca* was spoken. Moreover it is a striking fact that up to that date no translation from either of these foreign languages was made before the court of justice, which according to Franken might suggest that they were sufficiently well known among the white population. As for the 18th century (up to 1772), Nienaber listed in his index 40 magistrates or court clerks and 32 burghers who understood Portuguese (against 8 who did not), 13 burghers who knew Malay (against 8 who did not), the circumstances of each case being discussed in Franken's book. The author has not found evidence of white employees or settlers speaking Creole Portuguese among themselves; however quite a number of them may have had an active knowledge of it, while the slaves used it regularly before they went over to Dutch.

It is in the light of such and other new data about the nature of Creole Portuguese and the linguistic situation at the old Cape that a generation of young and unbiased linguists will have to reconsider the problem of the origin of Afrikaans. When upon a day in April, 1685, Baron van Rheede, Commissioner-General of the Dutch-East-India Company, paid a visit to the slaves' lodge in Cape Town, he was shocked by the promiscuity and wretchedness of the people there and also found "many small children, white as well as black, speaking the Dutch language without exception".⁶⁹ Now this remark has become a capital argument against the use of Portuguese as a slave language at the Cape at that time. But what more does it prove than that Dutch was being learnt—and most probably *creolized!*—by the offspring of imported slaves and white fathers? Franken himself comments upon this passage as follows: "The 'Dutch language' in the mouth of the slave children will not have been anything else than the 'miserable and broken Dutch' which, according to Kolbe (II, 317), the 'aias' (coloured nurse-maids) taught the children of the white with the result that these children learnt to talk a 'pitiful Dutch'.⁷⁰ In the meantime fresh supplies of slaves, which arrived continually, maintained the *lingua franca* as an indispensable means of communication between the new-comers and the old stock.

⁶⁹"veel kleyne kinderen, soo wit als swart, sprekende de Nederduydse tale sonder eenigh onderscheyt," *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁷⁰"Die 'Nederduydse tale' in die mond van die slawekinders sal nie anders gewees het nie as die 'elendig en gebroken Duitsch' wat die aias, volgens Kolbe (II, 317), aan die kinders van die blankes geleer het, met die gevolg dat daardie kinders ook 'barmhartig Duitsch' leer praat het," *op. cit.*, p. 17.

ORON PROVERBS

DONALD C. SIMMONS

The Oron, who call themselves *ərə*, number approximately 50,000 people, inhabit 90 villages in Calabar Province, Nigeria, and speak a language affiliated with the Ibibio-Efik dialect cluster recognized by Westermann and Bryan, and with Efik in the Central Branch (Cross River Languages) of Greenberg's Niger-Congo family.¹ Aside from references in books on African art to the Oron **mbukpu** statuettes and an article on Oron verb morphology, little ethnographic information has been published on the Oron, while their folklore has apparently been neglected.² The following Oron proverbs were obtained in 1953 with the assistance of Mr Dimo Udo Eyo (originally from Etobodom, Uyo District) from Mr Okon Ukam of Eweme village. The Oron denominate folktales **mbuk**, while the words **ndək** and **ŋke** designate proverbs. The transcription of Oron herein employed is not strictly phonemic since the sounds written [g, v, z, r] are allophones of the respective phonemes /k, f, s, d/.³

Numbers listed in the following paragraphs refer to the consecutively-numbered proverbs. Where the proverbial situations can be roughly categorized and approximately summarized, the proverbs concern: knowledge and experience (1, 21, 22, 24, 25, 49, 76, 78, 85, 97), possession of adequate tools (2, 38, 110), false friends (3, 54, 108, 114), hunger, food and work (4, 8, 10, 17, 63, 87, 91), suffering (5, 6, 76, 75), reversal of fortune (7, 37, 89, 96, 103), neutrality (9, 50,

101), the ignorance of supposedly wise people (11, 15, 65), debt (12), greetings (13, 98), following in the footsteps of an ancestor (14, 55, 84), relatives (16, 46, 59, 71, 92), mutual aid (18, 95, 106), revealers of secrets (19, 31, 43, 112), fear of consequences (20, 48, 94), the lack of just one thing (23), ego-defending retorts (26, 27, 47, 79, 86), belittling retorts (30, 32, 35, 62, 64, 69, 90), punishment reduction (28, 77, 107), borrowing and lending (29), inability to accomplish anything (33), equivocation (34, 81), begging (36), varying conditions (39), parents defend their child (40), nemesis (41, 68, 80), boasting (42, 67, 83, 105), a struggle to preserve something worthless (44), companionship in travel (45), news travels fast (51, 104), ownership (52, 88), help but do not hinder (53), honesty (56), an opening conversational gambit (57), do not worry over details (58), theft (60), troublemaking (61), bringing about one's own downfall (66), one must watch carefully to insure fulfilment of actions (70), demanding parents-in-law (72), cowardice (73), revenge (82), similarity of conditions (93), mistreatment of all because of one (99), good fortune (100), commendation (102), reception of an inferior gift (109), worry (111), and ability (113).

Animals receive more frequent mention in the proverbs than do humans. Mammals mentioned include: goat (1, 18, 26, 60, 93), dog (2, 59, 110), leopard (7, 17, 66), rat (62), rabbit (79), antelope (86), monkey (114), and sheep (26). Birds are represented by the

¹Forde, D., and Jones, G. I., *The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria*, London, 1950, p. 86; Westermann, D., and Bryan, M. A., *Languages of West Africa*, London, 1952, p. 133; Greenberg, J. H., "Studies in African Linguistic Classification: I. The Niger-Congo Family," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. V, 1959, pp. 79-100.

²Jones, Ruth, compiler, *African Bibliography Series: West Africa*, International African Institute, London, 1958, pp. 34, 42.

³For a discussion of Oron phonemes see Simmons, D. C., "Oron Verb Morphology," *Africa*, Vol. XXVI, 1956, pp. 250-263.

owl (12), dove (27, 97), vulture (20), wood-pecker (105), sunbird (38), hawk (44), and chicken (33, 73, 109). Insects comprise the cricket (14, 31), milliped (45, 50, 61), chigger (51), ant (58), firefly (70), and louse (106). Reptiles include the tortoise (25, 101), snake (28), and lizard (65, 81), while the following also occur: shrimp (49), snail (64), and crab (113).

Flora mentioned include cassava (3, 83, 84), maize (5), yam (60, 89), bean (1), mint (1), and the following trees: oil palm (41, 77, 97), wine palm (114), cotton tree (65, 76, 112), oilbean (79), *ækpoyokpoyo* (67), *uyana ekpu* (23), and *ugogo ukə* (103).

As regards humans, these kinship statuses receive mention: father (29, 91), mother (87, 88, 92), grandfather (95), child (29, 37, 49, 53, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 112), siblings (5), husband (94), and wife (94), while these personal statuses occur: orphan (5), blindman (6), twin-mother (9), hunter (13), witch (40), friend (54), chief (64), and ghost (94). The large number of references involving children probably indicate one of the chief functions of the African proverb: the moral instruction and admonition of the young.

Mention of specific customs and beliefs is rare, and, in consequence, little ethnographic information can be gleaned from the proverbs. However, from proverb 9 it may be inferred that the Oron disliked twins and, like their Efik neighbours, probably once practised twin infanticide; proverb 29 reveals that the Leopard Society occurs and since it bears a name different from the ordinary Oron word for leopard (see proverbs 7, 17 and 66), it may be predicted that future ethnographic investigation will reveal that the Leopard Society is not an indigenous institution but has been borrowed from a neighbouring group.

1. afu agadak ata ntitiuəŋ

Goat had before eaten mint
əke ita

it is good he eats.

Since only the experienced can do a task without error, errors due to inexperience should be expected.

2. aga udiək aba asanya

User of bad dog walks

arai ukə

behind (in) hunting.

The user of poor tools lags behind.

**3. aga uvək əŋwi əsiŋe
mbe iwe**

mud of cassava.

Used when one suffers because of a friend's actions:

**4. aganu elielie ənyəu
mbei nnim əkpei esi**

I take put midday?

Am I not to eat my fill now, but wait until later? This indicates the sayer does not desire to stop eating and resume his tasks until after he satisfies his hunger.

**5. akpa abak əgit əyufeŋ ata
ŋkanikan mbogoro**

dry corn.

An early riser sees an orphan eat dry corn. If something happens to someone who has already suffered the same thing, he will take its reoccurrence lightly. An orphan who has something unfortunate happen to him takes it lightly since he has already suffered the most serious calamity possible—the loss of his parents.

**6. akpa nniŋi ebuk mbuk
ileo**

of sleeping.

A blindman does not tell the story of how he sleeps. A sufferer cannot tell the real story of his sorrow.

7. akpi əkunu ndundu

Leopard is it alive?

Used when a person thought weak or cowardly conquers someone powerful.

**8. anana ubək uto ebre
nṣa**

warri game.

The Devil finds work for idle hands; the cause of this unfortunate circumstance is due to lack of steady employment.

9. **anla** **mmatə**
I do not stand with defecator
iniəŋ **kadiawə**
of excrement in backyard
mmubiao **anla**
of twin-mother, I do not stand
mambobia **əkpək**
with twin-mother (and) shout
ukpegunj **əkpək** **unim uyako**
alarm, shout without stopping.
I am neither with the troublemaker
nor with those who want to make
trouble for the troublemaker—I am
neutral.
10. **argantei** **kutei**
I do not sit in place
abak **ənyime**
of **abak** soup (and) not agree
ubei **nsizeo**
collecting yamsticks.
I cannot stay where food is being served
and agree to being hired to do work.
Used to indicate a guest refuses to do
a task which his host requests him
to do.
11. **ata** **mvufak** **agakpa** **ana**
Real knower go dies lies
kadiawə **əfu**
in backyard of fool.
Said when a wise man requests advice
from a fool.
12. **ata** **ubugu** **ugit ugít ənyi**
Eater of hand of owl he
aga **izəŋ** **ekpu**
holds debt of ghost.
When requested to run an errand the
runner may say this to indicate that
the sender should later reward him for
his help. The explanation of the pro-
verb is that owls are not eaten and
anything which is not eaten is believed
to be the property of ghosts; con-
sequently, if one were to eat an owl
he would owe something to the ghosts
for having taken their property.
13. **ata ugaj** **ɔri** **urwe** **eg'm**
Hunter comes market gunpowder
ɔri
comes.
Said at the meeting of two people who
- have not seen each other for a long
time.
14. **atidiaŋ** **əbei** **uku** **izan**
Cricket takes leg of walking
əkpē eti
of his eldest brother.
A person follows in the footsteps of
his ancestors.
15. **avak** **egre** **agasiɛŋe**
He knows finish he go defecates
iniəŋ **kile**
excrement on body.
Said to a know-it-all who refuses all
advice.
16. **afit** **əsiék** **evək** **əne**
Machete cuts scabbard it does
una
itself.
When the machete cuts its scabbard
it harms itself. Used to restrain some-
one from taking action against a rela-
tive, meaning that if he harms a rela-
tive he also harms himself.
17. **avu** **kudunjəm** **akpi**
You (are) in this town leopard
əmuə **əyo** **ŋkananjanwan**
catches child of old woman?
Were you in this town when a leopard
caught the old woman's child? Where
were you when there was work to be
done that you should now share in
the feast?
18. **avu** **ətuk** **ile** **kumbuban**
Goat rubs self on wall
ədəhə **kine** **mbuban**
says that he does wall
evak **kine** **ile**
he does not know that he does self
izigi **sugu** **ənyi** **ətuk** **kuntəŋ**
his as he rubs on hair
ile **izigi** **əkpohō**
of body his it cuts.
Used to request something which will
be mutually beneficial to both the
doer and the one who makes the
request.
19. **avu** **uyo** **una** **əbei**
You child of animal taker
eke **iwa** **kuruŋəm**
of mother, shows in town this.

Said to a member of the family who reveals the family's private affairs to outsiders.

20. **awu utigelei avak**

Killer of vulture knows

sede esи ubәk
what they take (and) wash hands.
The vulture is never harmed since it is a bird of good omen as well as a scavenger; consequently, the meaning is: he who does something serious knows how to avoid the possible consequences.

21. **ebak sana kuŋkpana**

There is nothing in bed (which)

ayaja eкe eme
deceives mother who bears
əyo
child.

A person acquainted with something for a long time knows all about it.

22. **ebiaja nnan**

They deceive blindman

kara
with palm-oil.

One can be deceived with something he is unfamiliar with. A blindman cannot see, hence can be readily deceived. The Ibibio version is: they deceive a blindman with oil but not with salt (since he can taste that). The query of a logician might be: why cannot the blindman taste the palm-oil? The answer is that palm-oil can be adulterated with water and the usual way to test the water content of palm-oil is to put a stick into it and then put the stick over a flame to see if the oil readily burns.

23. **egaj egaj ətuk ugana ekpu**

Fire alone lacks ugana ekpu tree.
A proverb used when someone has many things but lacks just one.

24. **egit elie mkpә egit**

Seeing eater of thing they see
urip

stomach.

One knows whether someone has eaten something by observing his stomach. If something is stolen in a compound,

and they say that they will search everyone's belongings, the thief will feel guilty and this can be ascertained by touching his breast and feeling the palpitations of his heart.

25. **elie mkpә mma ugit**

Eater of thing with turtle
avak ubәk ulo ugit

knows hand right of turtle.
He who eats with tortoise knows his right hand. A person who is a friend knows his friend's secrets, or birds of a feather flock together.

26. **ene afu ərәj**

It happens to goat sheep

agase ene ərәj
goes sees it happens to sheep

afu əgu kәdәŋ
goat says that sheep

əsimemesime

is really foolish.

A defensive retort to a chider who has done the same thing himself.

27. **enә usidugu uzun**

If they give dove fufu

ətim əgərəgət ətim

to pound is he able to pound?
An answer to criticism, meaning "Would you have done as well as I?"

28. **enu sugo ənyəŋa əto**

It is not as snake is long

kedio egano

that they put fire.

One does not burn a snake solely because of its length. Used when somebody is to be punished far in excess of his offence.

29. **ekpe oni**

Leopard-society is pleasant

son eti

like this father

eban enә

does not initiate (and) give to

əyo

child?

If the Leopard-society is so pleasant, why doesn't a father initiate his child? A proverb meaning: "Is borrowing so good that you do not lend?"

30. **erege use esugu usi**
Good cloth does not talk voice
koku nonu izədəhə
in box except chintz.
Empty vessels make the most sound.
Used to shush low-statused individuals
who disturb palavers.
31. **erenu eredianj ere usi**
Are you cricket you take voice
inue iwu uno
of mouth (and) kill self?
Said to someone who inadvertently
gives himself away as the perpetrator
of some deed.
32. **erenu nsun egan**
Are you smoke of fire
ala kozu
you stand in dustbin (and)
əto əke əzu
be taller than dustbin,
ala kagei
you stand in forest (and)
əto əke agai
are taller than forest?
Who are you to act as if you were a
famous chief?
33. **erenu uyeni ezime**
Are you chick (that) does not reach
əkə inue aya
mother's mouth (but) jumps (and)
agakwei
pinches?
Said when somebody tries to do something
that he is unable to accomplish.
34. **eṣe mkpə ikaha**
Selector of things too much
agare udiək
go takes bad.
He who cannot make up his mind may
finally make a bad decision.
35. **etu ala kukə avu**
Tree stands in bush you
əfə əwu əgit
burn (and) kill, you see
koŋwi avu ete uyei
in person you press beauty.
A curse used to someone who has
spoiled his thing and now advises you
to spoil yours. For example, if somebody
has had a child and, as it is

- believed, initiated the child into a
witch society so that the child subsequently dies, then if the parent sends
someone else's child on an errand, this
proverb could be used to mean: "You
have killed your child and now want
to kill mine."
36. **evik egit əŋwi**
Efik does he see person (and)
enə use ami nnonsara
give cloth (while) I still walk
ami ufo
mine naked?
If someone asks a beggar why he begs,
the beggar can retort with this, meaning
that he begs because he has no
relatives to aid him.
37. **eyen ntigitik ebei ugítiso**
Child small takes mirror
ese əvəhə utəŋ edəhə
looks inside throat, they say
kutəŋ ndu ətəŋ son
that neck of life is deep like that.
All good things can come to an end.
If a wealthy man misuses his wealth
and spends it foolishly, thinking he
has more than enough and then runs
out of money, the proverb can be used.
Only a child would think he might live
for a long time solely because his
throat is deep.
38. **ezeza əluolu utit**
Sunbird has heavy bottom
edəhə kodi keke
they say that he comes conquers
əkə
mother.
If one person accomplishes more work
than others because he has better tools,
the proverb can be said, meaning:
"He who has better tools does better
work."
39. **fe mi sara ubugu**
Cut me like that head
ela mbəŋmbəŋ
does not stay (the) same.
If someone does something and another
attempts to emulate him but cannot,
the proverb may be used.

40. **ifa agakpa koyo mməŋ**
Witch go dies in child of watery
ubra
blood.
A father will die fighting for his child: a proverb especially used by fathers to defend their retaliation against a neighbour who has unjustly chastized their son. Blood is thicker than water.
41. **igip amana utige əmu**
Kernel which lies on stone this
ərikpiekpi
will be cracked.
No matter how an evildoer attempts to escape the consequences of his deed, the day of reckoning will come; especially used in court cases where one party attempts to delay the proceedings.
42. **ile əfə ntanj ezara**
Body if better girls walk
mimalap ədiək ebio
with lads, if bad they carry
əkuei enə eke
basket for mother.
Said when somebody brags too much, meaning: "Tell us also of your misfortunes!"
43. **inuə əmuŋmuŋ ədəhə mkpə**
Mouth unsilent tells thing
ana ufinegi
it lies one place.
A taunt to a talebearer meaning that he will not rest until he has rushed and told his gossip.
44. **mbinebines akuku nkanyak**
I do chase hawk I go
ndivak uni udiək ulie
know chicken is bad eating.
A father who has beaten a neighbour for punishing his child may use the proverb when later learning the child deserved the punishment for being insulting.
45. **mkpeniŋiniŋ əyoyo əku izəŋ**
Yam milliped says travel
əni kotu
is sweet in groups.
The new-yam milliped is always found in groups; the proverb may be used
- when one wishes to accompany a friend on his journey.
46. **mkpə əne ənyi əne ibu**
Thing does eye does nose.
What hurts your relative hurts you.
47. **ndiodio əfit ambakabako**
I do put machete I do not cut.
If someone inserts a spoon into a food bowl merely to turn the contents and is then accused of trying to eat before the others eat, the proverb may be used to indicate the individual is merely turning or stirring the food and not attempting to eat it.
48. **nnu ərək nta əŋwi**
I am no-nose I eat person
kusugusugu ənyi
in front of eyes.
"No-nose" is gangosa, a tertiary stage of yaws, which results in slow mutilation of the nose. Just as gangosa does not fear to attack people before their very eyes, neither does the sayer of the proverb fear the consequences of his actions.
49. **nnu aviyak anluk**
I am shrimp I do not enter
ikpan eyen ntigitiko
spoon of child small.
A proverb meaning that small or inexperienced children lack knowledge. When children fish for shrimp they will not know where to put their nets or basket-traps and are therefore rarely successful.
50. **nnu ətim emai ubugu**
I am milliped they beat head
mfrə
I curl up.
Used to indicate an individual wishes to avoid trouble at all cost.
51. **nsuŋ idəŋ egei**
Fly of chigger does not hear
ŋkpa una əzorio
death of animal what does put
idəŋ
chigger?
News travels fast. Used on the escape of a secret or on being queried for

- news of a special event by someone from far away.
52. **ntaha ubo ana kesuk**
Broken canoe lies on beach
əŋwi ənyi
person owns.
Everything has an owner.
53. **ŋgundəhə fi ərifit**
I told you to come blow
ukpaŋ ənə mi ŋgundəhə
horn for me, did I tell
fi ərifit əyo mi
you to come blow child my
evəŋyəi
harmfully?
If someone hired to help you starts breaking your things, one says this, meaning: "You should help, not hinder."
54. **ŋkəŋ nsaja uvək ulə**
Follower of house of friend
ɛgebei mbito
does not go take (a) mat.
A proverb used whenever an innocent person is blamed for a friend's action. Someone going to his friend's house need not take a sleeping mat since he will obtain one there.
55. **ŋwa ekpu avak ibit**
Wife of ghost knows dances,
ebi avak ŋkukuaha
husband knows drumming.
A person who comes from a talented family will also be talented.
56. **əfə ubək aga utei**
Good hand plants farm
ariawə
of backyard.
A wise person only trusts an honest man.
57. **əfə enə əŋwi egre**
If good to person he is called
əyedip ədiək egre əbigə
silent, if bad he is called long
utan ntak
talker of reason.
Used by people when they feel like talking, meaning the person feels bad and wants to talk.
58. **əfə ubuəbuə eŋe**
Roaster does not take out make
nunjinuŋə ugunu ayak
ants become fish.
A roaster does not remove an ant from the fire and make it become a fish. One does not worry over a small matter as if it were of major importance.
59. **əfəfə ɛke uvək aba**
If good to mistress of dog
əfə aba
is good to dog.
An honour to a member of a group is also received by the group itself. A father can use this to his children to show that if something is good for him, it also helps them.
60. **əfu ata əbre ukpe**
Goat eats yam, foot
enana kesiŋo
is not lacking in frontyard.
A thief returns to the scene of his crime; once a thief always a thief. The goat's foot will not be lacking in that yard since the goat will come again.
61. **əgit ətim agabei ətim**
Seer of milliped does take milliped.
This generally means that the doer of an action must answer for his act. If somebody causes trouble and is fined in court as a result, one can use this to mean that a troublemaker must pay a fine. But, if somebody finds money, a companion can ask him to share it and use the proverb to mean a finder must share.
62. **əgu əgetu inue mma**
Rat does not have power with
ənyi usi ətəŋo
owner of **usi otong** soup.
Used when a person abuses someone to whom he should show gratitude.
63. **əkogokogo elie ki ədio**
Boaster eats one, putter
inue kebuk elie iba
of mouth in fireplace eats two.
A person who actually did most of

- the work receives more food than one who only helped a little.
64. **əkwəŋ əgədəŋə use ile**
Snail wore cloth of body
ənəŋ nawa urip əgəŋ
of chief he does roll stomach along
izəŋ
ground.
Said to one who attempted to gain praise but received only condemnation instead.
65. **əkwəŋ əniŋi ugim**
Snail climbs silk cotton tree,
əkwəŋ əniŋi ukpe
lizard climbs red ironwood tree,
abasi agak əkwəŋ
God overcomes lizard.
Used whenever a wise man is ignorant of something.
66. **əkpi əgədəhə ime əyo**
Leopard said he bears child
ifəhə mbara nonu
to be free from blood it then is
akpi eme əyo mbara kpak
leopard bears child blood fills
ile
body.
Said if somebody does something in order to escape a consequence, but only brings on what he tried to prevent. A parent can use the proverb if, after he prays his child should mature and prosper in order to help him, the child matures but refuses to aid his parents.
67. **əkpogokpogo əkədəhə**
Kind of tree said
iribek mbek sagam
he will grow growth like plantain,
agam əzigi utu
plantain yields fruits,
əkpogokpogo əzunę
əkpogokpogo tree takes out
nsan
flowers.
Used when a boaster does not fulfill his boast.
68. **əkpəsəŋ una akakpa**
Strong animal go dies
əbən
of bullets.
- Said when a strong and impetuous individual receives his comeuppance.
69. **ənyi ile ezuhe unəgi**
Owner of body hates himself
əgonu urun
says it is (his) town.
A proverb used when someone receives deserved punishment but attempts to rationalize the punishment as being due to everybody hating him.
70. **ənyi uvək əwə**
Owner of house goes out
kuvək ntafianj əluk
from house firefly enters
eza
backyard.
When the cat's away, the mice will play.
71. **əŋgit ite emienj ŋgit**
I do not see saliva I swallow I see
ŋkpok ndəŋ kotoŋ
spit I put on handle
afit
of machete.
I do not have saliva to swallow, how can I put saliva on the handle of a machete? A machete handle heats with use and thus is usually cooled with saliva or water. The proverb is used when the antics of a relative cost money, meaning: "I do not have enough money for my own upkeep, how can I pay for the upkeep of a troublemaker?"
72. **əŋwi egelə əyo**
Person does not marry child
əkue əsi ele
of squirrel palmfruit ripens (and)
etak
wastes?
Cannot a person marry the child of squirrel and palmfruit ripen and waste? Said by a husband who is continually summoned to help his parents-in-law in their labour.
73. **əŋwi mbiak ənyi akpa mkpa**
Coward dies death
suni
like fowl.
A coward dies a thousand deaths.

74. **əŋwi nnananyi evak**
Person of misery does not know
ibeto
taboos.
A poor man cannot be proud and particular over what food he will eat and, consequently, cannot observe the normal social amenities.
75. **əŋwi əgit isige ənu əŋwi**
Person sees pity for person
uduofu
of suffering.
Used to explain kind deeds done for those in distress.
76. **ərun adiana ugim elie**
Liver near cotton tree eats
mbra ugim
dew of cotton tree.
A person who lives with someone knows much about him.
77. **əsi eluk inue**
Palmfruit enters mouth (and)
etip uruo
does not fail to be bitter.
A person who gets into trouble does not fail to spend money to get himself out.
78. **əsi ke kubek**
It is from that of hand
ekukpe avak ənyeŋ
that that of foot knows climbing.
A proverb meaning that the sayer caused an individual to become acquainted with the fact in the first place and consequently has knowledge prior to that of the one to whom the proverb is said.
79. **əsu enyi izəŋ**
Rabbit does not have ground
eyip agano
he does not steal oilbean.
There is no place where a rabbit does not steal an oilbean, meaning none can stop a freeborn individual from doing something in his native land. A variant is **əsu enyi izəŋ eyip agano** "Rabbit owner of ground does not steal oilbeans"; he does not steal them since it is his natural prerogative to take them in the first place and the exercise of a prerogative is never theft.
80. **əte uriək ntei əte**
Clearer of bad clearing clears
konyi izigi
on face his.
A person who does evil also harms himself. If a man's child is maltreated by the parent of his child's friend and somebody says he should reciprocate, the proverb can be used to mean that a person who does a bad thing only hurts himself.
81. **ətəkwəŋ ərita nzame**
Lizard come drops beans
ugudəhə ku nzame ənusunjuŋ
come says that beans do blink at
emo
him.
If you do not want to do a favour come right out and say so, but do not prevaricate and say there is some imaginary reason which prevents you.
82. **əvu əgolo mi əgit ebiak**
You bit me heart does not fear
ugəŋo ami ndilo fi ibu
mucus, I come bite you nose
mbiak mbuba
do I fear nasal mucus?
You bit my heart without fear, now I am coming to bite your nose without fear. You harmed me without fear of the consequences, now I shall similarly revenge myself.
83. **əweni əgu nəŋə azala**
Cassava says who does stay
semu alaha usun
like him (and) roll (like) fufu
kudunj
in mortar.
Who is like me? A boast said by a wealthy man, meaning he possesses much money and can thus do many things.
84. **əweni ukə ekpu ala**
Cassava of bush of ghost stands
mvanj itigitek
leaves slightly.
Things happen according to their nature. Especially used to explain the

behaviour of a bad child as not being his own fault since he comes from a family of delinquents.

85. **əwəwə urue əne əŋwi**
Do show (in) market makes person
avak əyo ɔyeke

know sibling.

Experience is the best teacher.

86. **əyeke əlu azai əyeke**
Brother of antelope curses brother
əlu əkpəŋ ətəŋ
antelope big ears.

People who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

87. **əyo ata nlu əke**
Child eats smell of mother (and)
əyei ile
beautifies self.

One eats what he can in order to remain healthy.

88. **əyo egedəhə əke əgu**
Child does not tell mother that
nne etige mi kodigi
mother leave me that you are dirty
sako
too much.

The owner of something does not find fault with it.

89. **əyogit ebre edip əgu**
Child sees yams twenty he says
use əgre kedip
day finishes in twenty.

A wealthy man should be wary for he might not always enjoy good fortune.

90. **əyo əgin uto əgu emu**
Child refuser of errand says he
ivak ədigo
does not know way.

Said to a person who politely refuses a request, especially in connection with monetary loans, meaning: "You do not really want to do it."

91. **əyo əkei eti ike**
Child is more than father more than
əke agayət ezizə
mother he seems like antelope
akpan abia
of forest without food.

Used by parents to a disobedient child, meaning if he continues to disobey he will not receive any food.

92. **əyo ədəhə əke elie**
Child tells mother eat.
Said when a child provides his parents with material comforts.

93. **sabak kuvək afu abak**
What lives in house of goat lives
kuvək uni
in house of fowl.
Said when conditions in two places or events are the same.

94. **se mkpa sig:ne ŋwa ekpu**
Look thing how does wife of ghost
sebi ame-bak
as if husband does not exist.
If something happens to the son of a powerful man, the proverb might be used to mean that the doer does not seem to fear the vengeance of a powerful father. The meaning stems from the feeling that nobody would deliberately harm the wife of a ghost for fear of retaliation by her husband.

95. **sogogit ənsə**
He who saw grandfather
konsə əgit
that grandfather sees.
A person who does a favour will eventually have it reciprocated.

96. **səwə ənə əyo mbio**
What happens to child short
akpan mawə ənə əyo
of eldest son will happen to child
mbio udə
short of second son.
Calamity may befall anyone.

97. **ubini aganu eta**
Dove usually does not eat
əsi agatei kənyəŋ
palmfruit (and) go stay on top
əsi
of palm tree.
Is it that a dove does not eat palmfruits but goes and stays on top of a palm tree? Used to answer a query for information, meaning the speaker lacks any knowledge of the event.

98. **ubək ərizibo mma ubək**
Hand comes meets with hand.
Used when two friends meet after a long absence.
99. **udiək ibibi ene efei eyak**
Bad Ibibio makes them pass leave
erige ibibi kodigi
good Ibibio on road.
One bad apple spoils the barrel.
100. **ugana əruŋə əŋwi əbedime**
Luck "luckies" person anthill
ala konyi utə
stands before digging.
A fortunate person is always lucky.
In planting, several people each take one row; if one of them has an anthill in his row, he just steps around it and thus gets ahead of the others.
101. **ugit əgu ibre**
Tortoise says he does not play
kevəŋ yəi eməo
on skin cut him not.
A proverb meaning the sayer does not want to continue to remain where there is danger of injury.
102. **ugugo egəŋ eyei**
Ugugo Egong town beautifies
nlap əmū
youngmen these.
Said if somebody tries to do something he has never done before and does it superbly.
103. **ugugo uke urə'ęŋ**
Kind of nut of bush of Urotong
əgu konu əŋwi əbuk
says it is person when long
əkpo
he is big.
One becomes an adult through longevity. If compared to an older, wealthy man, a poor boy can use it to mean that when one lives long he becomes big and earns money.
104. **ugugə uni egit əgədəhə uzərə**
Cock of Eket told Uzoro
egit əgu mifəhə
of Eket if he escapes
mibuk
he will tell story.
A person rejoices when he escapes
- from a calamity and does not hesitate to tell his story.
105. **ugukwei əgədəhə iridio**
Woodpecker said he will put
əke kutige kuse mkpa
mother in stone on day of death.
Said of a person who boastfully promises to do something big once he succeeds and then, once successful, does not fulfill his boast.
106. **unun ubək ki əkezigi**
Finger of hand one does not take out
iləŋo
louse.
Two heads are better than one.
107. **uŋwəŋ utit əzigi unyai**
Anus emits flatulation
emuo ubugu eguei evəŋ
they catch head give knock.
Used by innocent people who suffer punishment because of the actions of an associate.
108. **use erige əŋwi əgəne erige**
Cloth of good person made good
əŋwi əyət ura
person become crazy.
The morals of a good person become corrupted by association with bad companions.
109. **utuk kaba eme mi uni**
Instead of dog bears me, fowl
eme
bears.
Especially used in gift giving, meaning that the speaker would rather have received nothing than such an inferior gift.
110. **utuk kudiək ugəŋ ńka edue**
Instead of bad gun I use spear.
Instead of using something worthless, I will use a good substitute; e.g., instead of sending a message by a bad son, I shall use a servant who will serve me more faithfully.
111. **uwak əgigre eyak ubugu**
Many thoughts do not allow head
ana usugu kio
lie place one.
Worry makes one restless.

112. **uye eto azap inue**
Child small quickens mouth
nsiji ugim agato
of conversation cotton tree hits.
A small child who repeats conversation will be punished. Talebearers frequently get themselves into trouble.
113. **uzei əkpo ile əkpo**
Crab if has big body has big
əkpəgək
claws.
Everyone does something according to his ability.

114. **uzim ulak uka**
End of leaf of palmwine tree
agabianja əbək əwə
deceived monkey he goes out
atuak uton akpa
hits neck (and) dies.

Used when a person gets into trouble due to the trickish actions of his erstwhile friend. If a monkey jumps on the ends of palmwine fronds, he will fall for the fronds will not support his weight.

BOOK REVIEW

Portuguese Africa. JAMES DUFFY. 1959.
Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press. 389 pp. \$6.75.

After Britain and France, Portugal ranks third in importance among the surviving colonial powers. The area of Angola and Mozambique, equal to that of western Europe, is occupied by ten million people, of whom all but one per cent are Africans. Yet the literature in English about the Portuguese possessions is very meagre; and even we in South Africa have remained ill-informed about the policies and practices of our nearest foreign neighbour.

This book by Professor Duffy of Brandeis University in Massachusetts has therefore rightly been welcomed. The author's interests are primarily historical and the bulk of the book is a straight historical record from the beginning, thus providing the background necessary for a full understanding of contemporary colonial administration. Like all the rest of Africa, Angola and Mozambique are changing. Mineral surveys, hydroelectric schemes, agricultural stations, and (not least) European immigration all show

that Portugal still cherishes great expectations for the future. Whether these will be realized is an open question. International opinion has hardened against every form of colonialism, even when it is presented in a paternal and benevolent light. Hitherto Portugal has somehow been sheltered from the impact of public criticism that has been felt in Britain, France and the Union. But the winds of change have begun to reach her and the process of adjustment and adaptation may be under way. Since Mr Duffy wrote, Portugal has ratified several of the conventions framed by the International Labour Office, including those concerning forced labour and penal sanctions for breach of labour contracts. This was a belated step in the right direction and presumably indicates that reforms are pending.

Professor Duffy is not uncritical and his misgivings about current policy are clear enough. If the Portuguese are ready to take account of constructive criticism, their position in Africa may yet grow stronger, not weaker.

J.L.

AGNES WINIFRED HOERNLÉ: AN APPRECIATION

EILEEN JENSEN KRIGE*

With the death of Agnes Winifred Hoernlé on 17th March, 1960, South Africa lost one of its most distinguished scholars, a remarkable and gifted woman who made a notable contribution to the study of anthropology and to the public life of the country.

Winifred Tucker was born in Kimberley on 6th December, 1885, but moved with her parents before the South African War to Johannesburg where she spent the greater part of her life. Attacks of diphtheria, measles and pneumonia when a baby had left her with a tendency to contract bronchitis which dogged her all her life. So strange are the tricks of fate, however, that but for this weakness she might never have returned to us from America to enrich her country by her own valuable services and those of her distinguished husband, Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé, 'a prince among men' as Professor Edgar Brookes has called him. Much of her early youth was spent in bed; but she was fortunate in having the companionship of a cousin her own age who spent long spells in her home playing games with her and reading books supplied in plenty by her father. He it was who laid the foundations of her love of knowledge and her scholarship, later encouraging her in every way in her subsequent career.

She attended Miss Buckland's school which later became the Johannesburg Girls High, was evacuated to East London with her family just prior to the outbreak of the South African War, then sent in 1900 to the Wesleyan High School, Grahamstown. Here she matriculated in 1902 in the first class and won a Minor Exhibition of £20

tenable for a year at the South African College, Cape Town. Probably on account of indifferent health, she does not appear to have given any indications at school of the leadership that characterized her later life. She was studious and conscientious but not fond of games, though she played a little tennis and hockey. What impressed her age-mates most were her remarkable powers of concentration, her ambition and singleness of purpose.

She entered the South African College in 1903 to read philosophy, classics and French. Her academic ability was clear from the outset. Professor Loveday, who held the Chair of Philosophy, was struck by her originality and initiative. Writing of her in 1911 he said, "She showed a combination of critical and constructive powers unusual at her age. . . . I can say without hesitation that of all the students in Philosophy whom I have anywhere taught, she was by far the most capable". Later, Professor H. E. S. Freemantle, who had been one of her examiners for her B.A. Honours degree in philosophy, told the Cape Town Women's Suffrage Society that in all his years as an examiner he had had only one set of papers that really impressed him by the quality of mind behind them—and that set he had found later was the work of a woman!

At the end of the first year she shared with H. F. Mitchell the Governor's Prize, awarded to the best student in the Intermediate (i.e., first year) classes. She seems to have taken an active part in student life and activities. She was a member of the Managing Committee of the S.A.C. magazine;

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she sometimes spoke in the debating society; she was the first president of the Ladies Hockey Club started at S.A.C. in 1904 and in 1906 became the only woman member of the first Students' Representative Council. During her first year at college she developed trouble in her right arm due to the sideway extension of one of the vertebrae in the cervical region which pressed on the nerves and made writing very difficult and painful. This must have been a great handicap in her studies and it remained as a permanent disability. Nothing daunted, she took up typing but even this involved problems. "In those days there were no portables," writes a college friend, "so she had to hump round a big, heavy 'office' type and the Railways would sometimes refuse to treat it as 'passenger's luggage', which meant extra expense and difficulties about being allowed to take it in the compartment". In her final B.A. Honours examination she was allowed an amanuensis and an extension of a quarter of an hour on each paper. In spite of her severe handicap she was in 1906, on the results of the examination, offered the much coveted Jamieson Scholarship, the best at the University. This scholarship had been founded "for the children of parents domiciled in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope" and when doubts arose whether this should or should not exclude a student whose parents, like hers, were resident in the Transvaal, she took the matter into her own hands, avoiding all controversy by resigning her claim to the scholarship and taking up instead the Porter Scholarship of £150 a year for three years.

In 1908 she proceeded to Newnham College. Here, acting on advice given by Professor Loveday, who believed that African ethnology and anthropology had a great future before them, she began to specialize in anthropology and psychology. She studied under Haddon and Rivers and in the Psychology Laboratory of the University under Myers, but took no examinations at Cambridge (there was no diploma in anthropology in those days). Haddon thought highly of her and deplored her subsequent marriage as a great loss to anthropology. During

this time she published an article in the *British Journal of Psychology* on the colour vision of English school children compared with results obtained by Rivers among Todas and Papuans, and with C. S. Myers, contributed notes on the physical anthropology of the Sudan to the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Frazer, whose volumes of *The Golden Bough* were just being published, was at Cambridge at this time and Jane Harrison was in residence at Newnham giving inspiring lectures on Greek religion and mythology. It is possible that Winifred Tucker may now have met A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who, back from his field-work among the Andaman Islanders, was often at Cambridge during this period. She worked with a brilliant set of students taking the Moral Science tripos, among whom was Agnes Rogers who became Professor of Education and Psychology at Bryn Mawr College, U.S.A. She did not play games and was prevented from indulging in public speaking in the numerous societies by trouble of the larynx which developed at this time, but she made many friends, some of whom kept in touch with her all her life. She impressed all of them with her scholarship and integrity of purpose. But they remember also her lovable nature, her lively sense of fun and ability to laugh at herself. Always the champion of the underdog she was shocked by the class distinctions and general snobbery of English social life, especially of their clubs.

In 1911 she proceeded to Leipzig to study psychology under Wundt, Partsch and Lamprecht, thence to Bonn to study experimental psychology under Kulpe. While in Germany she gained a first-hand acquaintance of the German historical school of anthropology. From Germany she went to the Sorbonne, Paris, to study under Durkheim. It was Durkheim's approach that had the greatest influence on her anthropological thought.

A Cambridge friend who joined her in Germany paints a delightful picture of her warm relationships with her fellow students. "Of her French days I know nothing but in the winter of 1911-12 I joined her in Bonn . . . and met some of her fellow students.

She belonged to a Luncheon Club where the members were mostly men and younger than she was but I remember how they hung on her words and her friendly, almost motherly relationship with them. . . . She was happy and at home in Germany, much in sympathy with the older pre-war generation and having a deep understanding and appreciation of their culture. She disliked the swash-buckling, duelling youths who were proud of their scars and used to rub salt in them to keep them open, and sensed that trouble lay ahead." She spent Christmas in München going to plays, picture galleries and museums. In the summer she travelled in Austria, Switzerland and Italy. "She loved the mountains and was a keen amateur botanist." Though no mountaineer she "was a good walker with a good head and loved scrambling about on the heights".

On her return to South Africa in 1912 she was awarded the newly-founded Croll Scholarship of the S.A. College to undertake research among the Hottentots. She made two expeditions at this time, the first to the Richtersveld near the Orange River mouth, on which she delivered a public lecture in March, 1913, under the auspices of the Witwatersrand Education Council, and a second to Berseba in South-West Africa to visit the solitary body of Hottentots in that part of the world.

In these days when the anthropological field-worker even in the most inaccessible places is able to enjoy many modern comforts it is difficult to realize the hardships confronting research workers in the pioneering days of 1912. To reach the Richtersveld Winifred Tucker had to travel by sea from Cape Town to Port Nolloth, then inland by rail to Ookiep, headquarters of the Cape Copper Company. Here she purchased a donkey wagon and set out with her twelve-year-old brother, three Hottentot servants and a white woman interpreter in a northerly direction over a difficult terrain of mountain and desert for Kuboos. They arrived there 15 days later, only to find that not a blade of grass was to be seen anywhere and most of the families had trekked to the Orange

River. She was obliged to follow them along its banks into country which became more and more rugged. "Our disselboom broke", she writes, "then a wheel, and finally we came to cliffs where no wagon could pass, so our goods were loaded on to the donkeys and on to pack oxen lent by the Hottentots". In this way she continued to share in the wandering, dreary and precarious life of the subjects of her research. The hardships she faced were incredible, especially for a young woman who had never been strong, and must have required great courage and resolution.

The people she was studying, too, presented extraordinary difficulties. Their tribal life was in a state of disintegration; they tired easily when questioned and found it difficult to concentrate. Again and again when they had been trying their best for a quarter of an hour they said it made their head ache to say anything more. It required infinite patience to get beneath the surface. "Just like children who weary of their lessons, the light would go from their faces, their eyes become dull and with a weary yawn they would suggest that it was time for tea! They would sell the last thing they had for tea!"

Her earliest publication based on field-work among the Hottentots was that of her public lecture entitled "Richtersveld, the Land and its People". This is of great interest as it shows so clearly her approach to her subject and foreshadows in quite a remarkable way the lines along which she was later to develop. Though fundamentally a scientist with rigid standards of scholarship she was nevertheless too human and warm a personality not to concern herself immediately with the quality of the lives of the people she was studying, with the problem of what the future held for them, and with the question of the moral responsibility of the more civilized race for their welfare. She puts in a special plea for the "fullest development of every human soul". Then, as later, she could not work in scholastic isolation but must always enter the hurly-burly of life, to be in the forefront of the battle for justice and human welfare.

In 1914, at the age of 28, she resigned the Croll scholarship and went to England to be married to R. F. Alfred Hoernlé whom she had met for the first time in Cape Town in 1908 when he succeeded Professor Loveday in the chair of Philosophy. Their marriage, a very deep and satisfying personal relationship, proved to be of tremendous consequence to the cause of race relations in South Africa. Soon after their marriage they moved to Boston, U.S.A., where Professor Hoernlé succeeded William McDougal in the chair of Philosophy and Psychology at Harvard. Mrs Hoernlé held no post in America but while there added to her already rich anthropological background an understanding also of the American schools, and contributed a paper to *Harvard African Studies* on "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of !Nau among the Hottentots". Their son was born in 1915. But the American climate did not suit her (her lungs became congested and fibrous) and she returned in 1920 to South Africa to be followed by her husband two years later when he accepted the Chair of Philosophy at Witwatersrand University. Winifred Hoernlé herself was appointed Research Fellow and Lecturer in 1923, a post which was converted in 1926 to that of Senior Lecturer. She now (1923) went on her last expedition to the Hottentots, this time to the Topnaars near Walfisch Bay, the Zwartboois at Franzfontein and the urban community at Windhoek, which led to the publication of several articles including "The Expression of the Social Value of Water among the Nama of South-West Africa" (1923) and "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of S.W. Africa" in 1925.

The decade 1920-30, which saw the arrival of the Hoernlés in Johannesburg, was a momentous one for anthropology, African studies and race relations in South Africa. A school of African Life and Languages was established at Cape Town with A. R. Radcliffe-Brown as its first Professor of Social Anthropology in 1921. The appointment of A. T. Bryant in 1920 as Research Fellow in Bantu Studies at the University of the

Witwatersrand was the first step in the establishment of a full-fledged Department of Bantu Studies there. J. D. Rheinallt Jones and his wife, Edith, newly arrived in Johannesburg, were engaged in forming the first Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans and awakening the interest in race relations which culminated in the establishment of the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1929. C. M. Doke, newly-appointed Lecturer in Bantu Languages at Witwatersrand, was carrying out important investigations into Bantu linguistics and phonetics, while in the field of physical anthropology Raymond Dart, Professor of Anatomy at the Witwatersrand University Medical School, was doing research and awakening in his students an enthusiasm which led in 1924 to the discovery of the Taungs skull, the first of the Australopithecines, with all that this has meant for our knowledge of early man in Africa. The foundations of scientific archaeology in South Africa were also laid at this time. A. J. H. Goodwin accepted a post at Cape Town University in 1923 and C. van Riet Lowe, then a civil engineer, was just beginning to take up archaeology as a hobby which was to lead to his appointment later on as the first director of a South African Bureau of Archaeology. In addition to their prolific field-work they together laid the foundation of South African prehistoric classifications and provided basic systematic descriptions of the South African cultures in their book, *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa* (1929). Their classification has formed the basis for an African terminology that is used from the Cape to the Horn of Africa.

In 1921 the journal, *Bantu Studies*, which later changed its name to *African Studies*, edited by J. D. Rheinallt Jones, first appeared. Winifred Hoernlé contributed an article to the first volume. Both she and Radcliffe-Brown were on the editorial board as was also Dr Loram, authority on Bantu education, who had been appointed to the Native Affairs Commission in 1920 and was playing no small role in all the new developments. There was tremendous activity and

interest everywhere, in all of which Professor and Mrs Hoernlé played a prominent part. Vacation courses in social anthropology, Native administration and kindred subjects were held at Witwatersrand and Cape Town. Diploma courses in Bantu studies, designed to meet the needs of civil servants and missionaries, were inaugurated. Winifred Hoernlé took a prominent part in giving these courses and conducted also correspondence courses, which Dr Loram advised well-known Native Commissioners like H. C. Lugg to take. It was under her inspiration and stimulation that Lugg and Braatvedt, both Native Commissioners of Natal, prepared their valuable articles on Zulu agricultural ceremonies and Zulu marriage for *Bantu Studies* and the *South African Journal of Science*.

Nobody could have been better equipped for the task of laying the foundations of a sound department of social anthropology than Winifred Hoernlé. She had studied in the foremost centres in England and the Continent, had been in close contact with the foremost American anthropologists, had done field-work under the most difficult conditions and had a thorough grasp of all branches of anthropology (including archaeology). Above all she brought to bear upon her task rare scholarship and a breadth of outlook that would have been hard to equal anywhere.

She found in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown a kindred spirit in her approach to anthropology. Both had come very much under the influence of Durkheim and together they embarked on a programme of study of African kinship organization and ritual. "Mrs Hoernlé and I are at present collaborating in a series of papers on some of the most difficult problems of African sociology and religion", wrote Radcliffe-Brown in 1925. His paper, "The Mother's Brother in South Africa", appeared in the *South African Journal of Science* in 1924 to be followed in 1925 by Winifred Hoernlé's, "The Importance of the Sib in the Marriage Ceremonies of the South-East Bantu". The influence of Radcliffe-Brown on her thinking is expressed in her article, "The Social Value of Water among the Nama of South-West Africa".

"It is to Radcliffe-Brown", she says there, "that we owe this concept of social value . . . His use of this concept in his analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Nama". Unfortunately Radcliffe-Brown left the country in 1926 bringing to an end what might have been a very fruitful collaboration.

As a teacher Winifred Hoernlé was stimulating and thorough. She gave her students a first-class training and the high standards she set were a challenge which brought out the best that was in them. She laid great emphasis on research. During a relatively short period (1924-1938) she inspired a number of anthropologists—among others M. Gluckmann, Ellen Hellmann, Hilda Kuper, J. D. Krige, who have made contributions to social anthropology and held important positions here and overseas. She gave of herself unstintingly and made of each student a personal friend. The esteem in which they held her was marked by the dedication to her of a special number of *Bantu Studies* in honour of her fiftieth birthday. She was in close touch with Malinowski (he presented her with one of his books "in token of social identity of functional siblings"); she kept abreast of all new developments in anthropology and retained an amazing freshness of outlook right up to the time of her death. Her students were among the first in the field in the early thirties when problems of culture contact and social change in Africa were beginning to occupy the attention of British anthropologists and in 1933 in her Presidential address to Section E of the South African Association for the advancement of Science she stressed the importance of the study of social change.

Winifred Hoernlé had deep insight and human understanding, a passion for justice and a great sense of responsibility and service in public life which inevitably drew her into community service outside the University. In 1932 she became an active member of the Committee of the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society. She helped to found the Penal Reform League of South Africa of

which she was President for many years. She took an interest in the depressed Indian community in Johannesburg and began the first schools for Indian girls. All these activities were carried on in addition to heavy duties at the University and her responsibilities as a wife and mother.

When increased family responsibilities led her to resign her post at the University she continued with her public work. So marked was her efficiency, so sound her judgement that she was in universal demand and soon found herself more and more deeply involved in activities for the promotion of the general welfare, serving as chairman or president of a large number of national and local organizations too numerous to detail here. She became Chairman of the Executive of the South African National Council for Child Welfare and in 1949 was appointed to the National Welfare Board. In 1945 she was appointed to the Penal Reform Commission and her personal contribution is one of the most important sections of the Commission's Report (1949).

The sudden death of her husband in 1943 was a great shock to her but she faced her loss with characteristic courage. She now became a member of the Executive of the Institute of Race Relations on which her husband had served as President for ten years, giving it the benefit of her wisdom and objectivity and serving as President in 1948-50 and 1953-4. In 1948 she delivered the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture to the Institute on *Penal Reform and Race Relations*. She had always remained in close touch with the University and in 1950 she was made a member of the Council of the University as a representative of Convocation.

Towards the end of her life honours were showered upon her. In 1949 the University of the Witwatersrand conferred upon her an Honorary LL.D. in recognition of the value of her services to social anthropology and to the community. In 1952 she was awarded the Medal of Merit of the International Council for Child Welfare (Medal Conseil Internationale des Enfants). She was awarded the Royal African Society Medal "for dedicated service to Africa". Just as her

students had been moved to show their love and admiration for her in a special number of *Bantu Studies* so the Institute of Race Relations honoured her by devoting a special number of its journal to her for her seventieth birthday.

If we ask ourselves what was the secret of this remarkable woman's wide influence and valuable contribution to social anthropology and human welfare, the answer I think is to be found not in her intellectual brilliance, nor yet in her balanced outlook and wonderful efficiency, important though they were. It lay in her complete selflessness. In all her work there was never any thought of self nor desire for personal recognition. She never sought the limelight; she worked for causes. She was candid and fearless in her opinions and criticisms but so obvious was her sincerity and all-pervading her kindness that people rarely took exception to her criticisms.

She has been called the mother of social anthropology in South Africa. But, and in a different sense, she may be said to have carried the protective instincts of a mother into every aspect of her life and contacts. Her family, her students, fellow-workers, countless children in need of care, all those who suffered under disabilities or were discriminated against in any way, all came under her broad maternal wing. Her approach, like that of a mother, was positive and constructive; her ideal, the removal of all barriers, whether of sex, creed or race, to the development of the full potentialities of every human being. Her death is a loss to anthropology, to the causes she stood for and a deep personal loss to all of us who were privileged to be her students and fellow-workers.

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ON THE NYORO CONCEPT OF *MAHANO*

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The concept denoted by the Nyoro term *mahano* is comparable with similar notions found in other cultures. The word is the plural of the noun *ihano*, which means anything specially strange or marvellous. If a Nyoro wishes to express surprise or astonishment, for instance at some unexpected news, he is likely to say *Ky'amahano!* (How astonishing!), or simply *Mahano!* (Amazing!). But the word implies much more than merely an exclamation of surprise. Its most important reference is to conditions of ritual or magical danger, possessing a particular kind of potency. A condition of *mahano* is something to be avoided, at least by ordinary people. If it cannot be avoided, relief from the state of danger which it implies may be sought through the performance of special ritual.

In this note I give some account of the kinds of things which Nyoro believe to be *mahano*; I do not here attempt comparison with analogous data from other cultures. There are, broadly, four kinds of situations or events with which *mahano* is associated. The categories so distinguished are not mutually exclusive, and some things may fall in two or more of them, depending on the aspect from which they are regarded. These categories are: (1) certain things which may not be done, prohibited social behaviour; (2) certain transition states, primarily birth and death; (3) political authority, and (4) a residual category of things that are thought to be unnatural and alarming, which are outside the everyday order of events.

Taking the first of these four broad categories, there are at least five types of "deviant" social behaviour which gives rise

to *mahano*. These relate to, first, sexual behaviour, especially incest; second, behaviour by men to women; third, avoidance relationships and the observance of certain ritual restrictions in the sister's son-mother's brother relationship; fourth, certain status relationships, especially those involving the pre-eminence of the household head (*nyineka*), and fifth, the obligations implied in the blood pact (*mukago*). I give some examples of acts or omissions which give rise to *mahano* under each of these heads.

The worst kinds of incest are mother-son incest and father-daughter incest. Then comes brother-sister incest. For a man to sleep with any woman whom he calls "sister" is incest, but it is very much more heinous for a man to cohabit with his mother's daughter than with a patrilateral half-sister. Exempt from the rule against brother-sister incest are the Bito, members of Bunyoro's ruling clan of which the king (Mukama) is the head. But even the Bito (with the possible exception of the king in ancient times) would ordinarily cohabit only with a distant patrilateral "half-sister"; union with even a patrilateral first cousin was rare outside the royal line. No Bito, not even (according to my informants) the Mukama in traditional times, would sleep with a full sister or a matrilateral half-sister; "they respect their mother's child" (*nibazira owanyina*), Nyoro say. No Nyoro may marry or cohabit with a member of his mother's clan, or (unless he is a Bito) with a member of his own clan. These unions would give rise to *mahano*. It is similarly *mahano* for a man to cohabit with a woman born to any woman of his clan, that is, with any woman whom he calls *meiwea*; for such a woman is, in a

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sense, his child, and he is her (male) "mother". A man may not sleep with his wife's mother (*nyinazara*) or with any woman of her clan, or with any other wife of his father-in-law, for he calls all these women *nyinazara*. And he may not sleep with his son's wife. Nor should he sleep with his mother's brother's wife, though it is said that sometimes men do so.

Mahano is also caused if a man takes any woman on his father's bed, or on his mother-in-law's bed, or on his mother's brother's bed, or if a woman takes any other man on her husband's bed; this last offence is believed to cause the death of her husband. These restrictions are consistent both with the common requirement that the sexual activities of contiguous generations be kept separate, and, in the case of the first and third prohibition, with the high respect in which household heads (*nyineka*) are held.

It is also *mahano* for the shoulders of a man or his wife who is going to sow to be grasped by any other person of the opposite sex (this gesture stands for sexual intercourse in several cultural contexts) or if a mother permits this to be done to her, or does it to a man other than her husband, before her child's teeth have appeared. If she allows this, the child's upper teeth are likely to appear before the lower, which is itself *mahano*, and necessitates a long and expensive course of purificatory ritual.

A breach of the rule of avoidance of the wife's mother is also *mahano*; for a man to see, speak to, or especially to eat with his mother-in-law, at least during the first years of marriage, is believed to bring about a state of ritual danger and, in particular, to cause the wife's mother to suffer from an affliction called *buko*, said to be an ague-like condition of trembling and shivering. The cognate term *muko* is in fact used by Nyoro to refer to a daughter's husband or, more generally, to the husband of any clanswoman of the speaker. And the term *buko* itself generally denotes the relationship between a man and his wife's parents and siblings. It is also *mahano* for a wife to make free with the personal property of her

husband's mother as long as she (the mother) is living; where marriage is still predominantly patrilocal the senior woman is the mistress of the household and is held in much respect by her sons' wives. Breaches of the prescribed behaviour between a man and his mother's brother (that is, a man of his mother's clan) also cause *mahano*, and the person who is likely to suffer in consequence of a breach is the mother's brother, not the sister's son. In particular, the sister's son (*mwihwa*) should not climb on the roof of his mother's brother's house, he should not kick or step on the hearth-stones (if he does food will never cook there properly again), and he should not walk through his mother's brother's growing crops.

Some of the restrictions relating to women the breach of which gives rise to *mahano* reflect the lower status of women in Nyoro culture. Thus it is *mahano* for a woman to raise the alarm (*kutera nduru*)—to give a high-pitched ululating cry, tapping the lips with the fingers) while men are present. Women are also forbidden to eat chickens (*nkoko*), or, when they are adult, edible grasshoppers (*nisenene*); these foods may be eaten by men only. Certain restrictions on men's behaviour to women are indicative, in a different way, of their unequal statuses. Thus it is *mahano* for a man to seize his wife by the neck while he is beating her, or to beat her while she is holding her child, while she is running towards the bed or is under it, or if she runs towards the kitchen.

The breach of certain rules and prohibitions relating to the status of the head of a household (*nyineka*) is *mahano*. Especially so is any act which might suggest the *nyineka*'s death and the consequent dissolution of the household. Thus it is *mahano* for a child to take food with its mouth from the palm of its father's hand (for traditionally this was done ceremonially after the father's death), for the family to put a very large log on the fire and sit around it (for this is what the mourners will do after the *nyineka* dies, in the course of the vigil called *kugarragara*), for anyone to seize hold of the central pole of the house (for traditionally this was pulled out from the middle of the

old-fashioned round house on the same occasion), for members of the household to wear dry banana leaves or stem fibre (*isansa* and *bigogo*), since these will be worn during the period of mourning, for anyone to throw a hoe in the middle of the floor of the *nyineka*'s house (because this suggests *nyineka*'s burial, after which the hoe used to dig the grave is traditionally thrown on the grave and left there), and for a son to place in position the centre pole of a house he is building while his father is living (for this should always be done for him by his father). It is also *mahano* for any member of a household to eat the first-fruits of any crop before the household head has tasted them; if he is away some must be put aside for him. Also, if a woman is planting, she must put aside a small amount of seed for her husband to eat, called "the household head's reserve" (*kisigiro kya nyineka*). Even certain acts by domestic animals are seen as threats to the *nyineka*; thus if a cock crows at night it is *mahano* and it is killed, for it is presuming to the *nyineka*'s status. Similarly, a fowl which walks across the hearth while cooking is taking place there is killed. A fowl which begins to gasp and gape as though it were dying is also quickly killed, for this is said to foretell the *nyineka*'s death.

A breach of the obligations implied by the blood pact is *mahano*, and a man who conceals food or beer from a visiting blood partner will suffer from the swelling up in his stomach of his partner's blood which he swallowed, smeared on a segment of coffee berry, at the blood pact ceremony. This may cause him to die, unless he recalls the offended blood partner, obtains his forgiveness, prepares a feast, and persuades him to lay his hand on his (the offender's) stomach.

These various manifestations of *mahano* differ greatly in seriousness and significance. The most important of them are those which relate to incest, and it is said that formerly persons guilty of the graver forms of incest were thrown into a river or lake, with the lower section of a grinding stone (*rubengo*), secured around their necks. Nowadays a person detected in a breach of the incest

prohibitions would be despised and ridiculed, and might be derided in the songs commonly sung at dances. People are said to have hung themselves from shame (*buhemu*) at being accused of incest, and some have left their homes and gone to live in far away parts of the country where they were not known. People say that a child born of an incestuous union is likely to be *kigwagwa*, that is, a rather half-witted person, inclined to do reasonless things, like walking into the fire and wandering in the bush. Like other kinds of *mahano*, incest is dangerous, and may cause those guilty of it and their relatives to die.

In the cases so far considered, where *mahano* is associated with the breaches of certain norms of interpersonal behaviour, the concept is comparable with the Western notion of sin. The emphasis is on the deterioration of ritual status that is involved, and on the consequences of this, rather than on any wrong that has been done to another. This is so even though some "wrongs" are associated with *mahano*, and acts that are *mahano* may certainly bring evil consequences on others besides the doers of these acts. But the point is that in Nyoro thinking the evil effects are due to the *mahano*, and not the *mahano* to the evil effects. For Nyoro certain things are bad because they are *mahano*; they are not *mahano* because they are bad. But we shall see that not all that is *mahano* is bad, though it is always dangerous.

The second broad category of *mahano*-producing situations comprises certain states of social transition. In Bunyoro, as elsewhere, ritual danger is thought to attach to certain statuses which are in some way anomalous, outside the everyday social categories. Three of these are strongly institutionalized; birth, death, and initiation into the *mbandwa* spirit possession cult. When a child is born, it and its mother must remain in the house (*ha kyoto*—literally "by the fireplace") for four days if the child is a boy, three if it is a girl. After this period, the mother may emerge from the hut and go about her ordinary duties, but for a longer period, properly four months for a

boy, three for a girl, she is subject to certain restrictions. Thus she may not eat certain foods, such as termites, cow-pea (*nkole*), simsim, or *mugobe* (a plant used as a relish), nor may she have intercourse with her husband during this time. After this there is a feast, the parents are dressed in barkcloth and have their heads shaved, and the child is "taken out" and formally named, in the presence of relatives and neighbours. At this time, also, the parents should grasp each other by the shoulders, a gesture which (as we noted earlier) symbolizes sexual intercourse; only after this has been done may normal relations be resumed. In this instance the rite is called "making the child grow" (*kukuza omwana*). Twin-birth, and other abnormalities of birth or infancy associated with it, have a very much higher content of *mahano*; I consider them below.

In all cultures death is a most disruptive event socially, and in Bunyoro, as elsewhere, it entails ritual danger for the survivors. Analogously with birth, for four days after a death (three days if the deceased was a woman), the members of the bereaved family are in a state of grave ritual impurity. During this time they may not wash, shave or change their clothes. After this they are said to "emerge from death" (*kuturuka orufu*), and there is a formal ceremony of hair-cutting, washing, nail-clipping and anointing. This is sometimes called the "black shaving" (*kumwa okweiragura*), and after it the heir to the dead person (if he was a household head) is formally installed. Though the time of gravest danger is now over, the *mahano* persists for a period of weeks or even months, during which sexual relations are prohibited for all the members of the household, even with their spouses. This period concludes with a feast and another shaving ceremony, called the "white shaving" (*kumwa okvera*). And there is, finally, a rite of "getting rid the death" (*kumara orufu*), in which the *mahano* associated with it is symbolically left in the house of a distant "mother's brother" of the dead person.

The third transitional condition with

which *mahano* is strongly associated is initiation into the Nyoro spirit possession cult. Initiation into this not only puts the initiate in a state of grave danger, through contact with powerful spirits; it also implies his translation to an entirely new status, a translation which is symbolized by a ceremony of rebirth and in other ways. The long and complex initiation ceremonies are said to conclude with an act of ritual congress between the novice and a senior initiator of the appropriate sex. Informants are quite explicit that the object of this is to end the state of ritual danger which initiation has brought about; thus it is believed that if a female initiate were to cohabit with her husband before this ritual intercourse had been performed, all the *mahano* which is "in" her would endanger him, and might prove fatal to him.

The third broad dimension of social life with which *mahano* is associated is that of political power and authority. Nyoro are very conscious of the notions of power (*busobozi*) and government (*bulemi* or *bukama*). They think of these forces as being in some sense fearful and oppressive. A ruler, from the king down to a household head, is "feared" (*kutinwa*) as well as honoured and obeyed; indeed the noun which denotes the honour and respect in which a ruler is held (*kitinisa*) is derived from this verb, and might almost be translated "fearfulness". It appears that in the context of political relations *mahano* is (as I have argued elsewhere)¹ an aspect or expression of political power. This is plain in the delegation of authority, particularly of royal authority; in traditional Nyoro thinking about these matters, persons to whom the Mukama allots political authority receive at the same time a corresponding enhancement of ritual potency or *mahano*. This was especially exemplified in the traditional political system by those state dignitaries called the "crown-wearers" (*bajwara kondo*), though it is so, also, in lesser degree, in the case of less important chiefs. The crown-wearers were persons to whom the king awarded special beaded crowns, as well as

¹In "Rituals of Nyoro Kingship" in *Africa*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, April 1959.

the grant of political authority over specific territories and their inhabitants. Those who were favoured with crowns thereby received, as well as high political authority, a significant share of the dignity and prestige of the kingship itself. Like the king, they were subject to ritual dietary restrictions; they should eat only the traditional "white" foods (such as beef, milk, eleusine and certain other vegetables), and not the "black" or more recently introduced foodstuffs, like beans, bananas, and cassava. Nyoro express the ritual aspect of high political office by speaking of the high degree of *mahano* which the crown-wearers possess.²

The fourth and residual category distinguished above comprised those things and events which are extraordinary and in some way alarming. Plainly everything that is *mahano* has these qualities in some degree, but the things which I have put in this category appear to be *mahano* mainly for this reason, rather than because they possess some other kind of social importance. By far the most important of these are twin-birth, and certain other abnormal or unusual conditions of birth or infancy. Birth in any case gives rise to a condition of *mahano*, and when in addition the birth is an abnormal one, the importance and danger of the occasion is greatly increased. The *mahano* to which twin-birth gives rise is sometimes referred to as *mahasa*, and it both imposes stringent ritual prohibitions on the parents of the twins and on others, and involves specific prescriptions for getting rid of the *mahano*. Neglect of the proper ritual may lead to the death of the twins or the "burning" (*kwokebwá*) of the parents (this means that they may be afflicted with a painful skin disease, involving the depigmentation of patches of skin). The ceremonies, which have been described elsewhere,³ include the temporary segregation of the parents, the performance of special dances, feasting and gift-exchange, the participation of the *mbandwa* spirit Rubanga, and, in particular, the conveyance of the *mahano* of the twin-birth to the mother's

natal home, its symbolic return to the twins' parents' home, and its final disposal through an act of ritual sexual intercourse or its simulacrum. A few days after the twins are born, a representative of the twins' father announces the birth to his wife's parents, flinging a prepared object of symbolic significance in their courtyard, and fleeing lest he be chased and beaten for bringing the *mahano* there. Until the end of the *mahasa* period some months later, the parents are subject to rigorous ritual restrictions; thus they may not shave their hair, and they may not sleep together or lay hands on any other persons. At the end of this "black" period, the "white" period is opened by a formal visit by the mother's people to the twins' parents' home; this is sometimes spoken of as "returning the *mahano*". At the feast which then takes place the house in which the birth took place should be burned down, because the *mahano* attached to the birth would make it dangerous for the parents to live in it again: nowadays, since modern houses are larger and more expensive to replace than the traditional small "beehive" hut, a small facsimile of a house is erected, ceremonially entered by the parents carrying the twins, and then destroyed. Before the parents may sleep with each other again, each should perform an act of intercourse (whether actually or symbolically is not clear) with a complete stranger whom they should never see or cohabit with again, in order finally to get rid of the *mahano* which might otherwise prove fatally injurious to both of them and to their children.

Some of the other things in the category of the strange, fearful and abnormal, which are *mahano*, may be briefly catalogued. The practice of sorcery, witchcraft and spirit possession is *mahano*, or gives rise to it. The birth of monsters, such as children lacking eyes or limbs, is *mahano*, so is the birth of triplets, who were formerly killed, together with their parents. It is *mahano* for a man to "change into" a woman, or vice versa, for a man to "turn his friend

² cf. for example, Petro Bikunya, an ex prime minister, in his book, *Kv' Abakama ba Bunyoro*, London, 1927, p. 51.

³ cf. J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 161-65 and 250-57.

into a woman" (*kuhindura mugenzi we nk'omukazi*), or for a woman to deal correspondingly with another woman: hermaphroditism and homosexuality, that is, are *mahano*. Abnormal behaviour by animals is also *mahano*. It is *mahano* for a wild animal or a snake to enter a house, for a lizard to fall on a person, for a person to be struck by a large locust (*mparre*), or for a frog to jump into the fire. Death by lightning also gives rise to a situation of grave *mahano*, so do homicide, suicide and any kind of very sudden death. It is *mahano* for a man to fall into a house which he is thatching (the owner must give him a chicken), or for a person to defecate in another person's house (in this case the restoration of normality requires that the culprit leave the house by a specially made hole in the wall, not through the door, and that he bring a white sheep or chicken for the owner). To whistle in another person's house is *mahano*. All these are examples of *mahano* given by informants, and the list could be considerably lengthened. But here what is *mahano* shades off into such phenomena as omens, things that are unlucky, sudden or disturbing accidents, such as the burning of a house, a robbery, or a road accident, and even breaches of good manners (*makune*) and etiquette. The possession of *mahano* is not a simple matter of its being present or absent; it is rather a matter of degree, and I have in this note been chiefly concerned with those kinds of *mahano* the responses to which are strongly institutionalized, and which call for the performance of formal ritual procedures.

For Nyoro, then, *mahano* is a real quality or "power", which inheres in certain things and events. It is something which can be "finished" (*kumara mahano*), which can "befall" people (*kugwerwa mahano*), which can be "left" or "thrown" in other people's

houses (*kulekwa* or *kunagwa mahano*), and so on. Of course it is possible to speak of abstractions in such terms as these without reifying them; we often speak of sorrow befalling, misfortune overtaking, and so on, without thereby implying that sorrow and misfortune are concrete entities. And quite plainly it would be the worst kind of realist naivety to impute to Nyoro a belief in some mysterious existent on the basis of linguistic usages which are common to all languages. But what is most striking in Nyoro thought are the quite specific evil consequences which *mahano*, in many cases, is believed to entail, and the very specific measures which are often prescribed for disposing of it. It is sometimes referred to and dealt with as though it were some kind of physical contagion, which can "infect" others through bodily contact. Though it is sometimes spoken of as a state that can be altered, or emerged from, often it is represented as having an existence of its own, so that it can be disposed of not only by physical destruction (as in the case of the house where twins were born) but by "leaving it" somewhere, or by transferring it to some other person or persons (as through sexual intercourse with an unsuspecting stranger). And we noted that one does not always want to get rid of *mahano*; it is not at all the same thing as moral evil, though it is always dangerous (to somebody); the *mahano* of the king, of the crown-wearers, and of the senior initiators of the spirit possession cult is proper and appropriate to them. But it would endanger them if they did not maintain the proper observances. In Bunyoro, then, *mahano* is pre-eminently an expression of what is conceived to be powerful and dangerous, whether the power be that of spirits, of political rulers, or, simply that of what is strange and so in some degree alarming.

ANLU: A WOMEN'S UPRISING IN THE BRITISH CAMEROONS

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On November 22, 1958, 2,000 women of the Kom tribe, bedecked with vines, entered the government station at Bamenda after a 38 mile march of a day and a half, in protest at the summoning for interrogation of four of their leaders.

This was one of the more dramatic aspects of an uprising of some 7,000 women in Bamenda Province which began in April, 1958, and has lasted for a year with no end in sight. Its interest is that here is an example of an old institution called *Anlu* (pronounced ah-loo, with "a" nasalized), which traditionally operated to punish offenders of certain "moral" rules, being converted (with the aid of two male instigators) into an organization of political pressure, the major objective of which was to unseat the party in power, and vote in the opposition party in the January, 1959, elections. The change in form and function of *Anlu* will be the primary concern of this paper.¹

Anlu traditionally referred to a disciplinary technique employed by the women for particular offences. These included the beating or insulting (by uttering such obscenities as "Your vagina is rotten") of a parent; beating of a pregnant woman; incest; seizing of a person's sex organs during a fight; the pregnancy of a nursing mother within two years after the birth of the child; and the abusing of old women. A woman thus offended would summon women to her aid by sounding a war-cry made by beating the lips with the fingers while uttering a high-pitched sound. A man could present his complaint to the head woman of his compound. She would discuss the matter with older women of the quarter

and they would then decide on a course of action. The women could summon the offender, hear the case, and decide to accept the apologies and payment of goat and fowls. This would settle the case. An intermediary could also plead the case of the offender. If the offender failed to appear, or if he was an habitual offender, more drastic action was taken. In the early stages of the persecution, however, the women had to clear their action with the Fon's (the paramount chief's) representative, the **tabekwitfon**, the man serving as priest, chief executor of the Fon's orders, and head of the once-powerful secret society known as **kwitfon**. The **tabekwitfon** could bring an immediate halt to the proceeding if he thought it unjustified. His agreement was symbolized by his turning over his drum to the women who now had official sanction to continue.

The women of the quarter and sometimes the neighbouring quarters then were enlisted. On a set day they dressed in leafy vines, articles of men's clothing, and paraded to the culprit's compound around five o'clock in the morning. There they danced, sang mocking and usually obscene songs composed for the occasion, and defiled the compound by defecation or by urinating in the water storage vessels. If the culprit was seen he could be pelted with stones or a type of wild fruit called "garden eggs". Then the women shed their vines and garden eggs in the compound, leaving some of each hanging on the threshold as the *Anlu* sign that its use has been banned. In some cases they would prohibit the offender from visiting other compounds and instruct the people that no one should visit him. Sometimes

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the culprit fled to another compound or even another village, but *Anlu* was continued. At the next weekly market the women voluntarily attended, dressed in their vines, and publicly ridiculed the culprit by dancing and singing mocking songs.

A person thus persecuted rarely could hold out for as long as two months. When his endurance was at an end, he put the *Anlu* vines around his neck as a sign of capitulation and went to the women to plead for pardon. If his pleas and indemnity goods were accepted, they took him naked to the stream and bathed him (the whole body had to be immersed), a ritualistic act which removed the guilt. If they had contaminated his cooking pots with the garden eggs, contact with which caused one to become thin and sick, these were washed in the stream. Then they led him back to his compound, rubbed him with powdered camwood and palm oil and gave him food. The important act, however, was the bathing. After this the incident was never mentioned again.

The invoking of *Anlu* was a serious affair and used sparingly. One informant, about 35 years of age, said he had seen it used only four times in his lifetime.

Such then was *Anlu*, an institution probably brought with them when the Kom migrated into their present area from the north-east some 300 years ago. Among the other tribes of this Tikar migration *Anlu*, or its counterpart, seems absent.

Anlu persisted in its traditional role until the latter part of 1957. Then began its conversion into a highly organized and powerful political organization that was to seize control of tribal affairs from the men, control the tribal vote in the 1959 election, and by its persecution and sometimes terroristic treatment of non-members create disturbances that caused considerable concern to the local authorities. Men who attempted to interfere with *Anlu* were chastized by their wives who might refuse to feed them (the women supply most of the food as well as prepare it) until they capitulated, and there were stories of women hiding all the clothing of their husbands so they were restricted by modesty to their compounds.

The conversion of *Anlu* into a political organization was the work of two politically ambitious Kom men. They held out to the women the hope of a solution of their real and imaginary problems. Some of the latter were introduced for the occasion, for example, the rumour that the government was selling their land; that the Fon was selling it to the Premier who was selling it to the Ibo. The hatred of the Ibo, although there are none in the Kom area, is almost a neurosis and one shared by most people in Bamenda. Since the Kom women are the farmers and their lands are regarded as almost sacred this was a serious threat, and this fear that their land was being sold was by far the most important reason for the uprisings. The fact that perhaps 99% plus of these women are illiterate made the introduction of such falsehoods relatively easy. On the other hand the two men made good use of actual, though minor, grievances such as the government's negligence in expediting their claims of crop damage against the Fulani, whose unfenced cattle strayed into Kom farms and ruined their crops. Actually there are few Fulani in the Kom area. It was, however, a fairly serious problem in the Bafut and Nsaw areas where women took it upon themselves to kill a number of Fulani cattle in retribution. The premature enforcement of a relatively new contour-farming regulation did nothing to help matters. This regulation, passed in August, 1955, ruled that the women must orient their linear garden beds horizontally to the slopes rather than the traditional vertical arrangement, to prevent soil erosion in this mountainous terrain. The Kom women believed that this ruling was a proof of the fact that their land was being sold, and the fact that some of the women were fined for infraction of this rule was a further source of dissatisfaction. The uprooting of "wrongly" planted beds by an injudicious Agricultural assistant (he was later discharged) in an attempt to enforce the rule heaped more coals on the fire.

By the use of demagoguery, sincere promises, the exploitation of dissatisfactions, intimidations, and the clever mingling of

Kom and European ideas, the women were welded into an effective organization whose membership at its height was estimated at 99% of the Kom women. Traditional *Anlu* was a disciplinary technique, not an organization. New *Anlu* was efficiently organized with officers, local chapters, weekly meetings, and a treasury kept solvent by weekly dues. Elements of old *Anlu* that were retained included: the name, the concept of the right of women to band together for the purpose of punishing an offender, the use of the "war-whoop" as a signal, demonstrations by dancing and singing of mocking songs, bedecking the person with vines and garden eggs when demonstrating, and the use of the garden egg plant as a sign of stigma.

The organization of new *Anlu* is based on local chapters or "cells" located in every quarter. The division of tribal areas into quarters (or wards) is the old Tikar pattern of political and social organization. Each *Anlu* chapter has a "quarter head" (**náŋlu**), a leader who conducts the quarter meetings and transmits orders from central headquarters.

At the top of the organization is the Queen (**nafónanlu**), who determines policy and "law" with the aid of ex-officio male counsellors and issues the orders for its execution. She rarely attends quarter meetings, but is informed of their wishes and needs by the Spies. Beneath her dress she wears bells around her waist and on official appearances she dons a monkey skin hat and a red bandolier. The idea of a Queen chosen by the women to represent them is an ancient one in the Kom area. In former times such a woman had considerable authority and even her own stool (symbolic of chiefly rank), but the previous Fon had suppressed this office.

Second in command is the Spokesman, (**ánkumte**), who makes the announcements and most of the speeches and acts as the official spokesman for *Anlu*. When the District Officer comes for investigations, for example, she will represent the group as spokesman. During the demonstration she wears a man's shirt, shorts and hat, puts

soot on her face, but does not wear the vines. She is referred to in pidgin as the "D.O."

Third in importance are the Quarterheads, followed by the Spies (**gwéze**). This is an adaptation from the warring days when men called **gwéze** spied upon the enemy. Today Spies vary in number with the size of the quarter, the smallest having five Spies; the largest, eight. Their function is to meet with the Queen and take information and instructions back to their quarters. If it is decided that a non-member should be prohibited from working her farm, a Spy from that quarter will place the vines and garden egg plant on the farm to mark it taboo.

Below the Spies are the Messengers (**léléntum**), from three to six for each quarter, who, besides carrying messages, summon people for an interview or meeting. On duty they wear red caps, men's shirts and shorts, sometimes shoes, and carry staffs.

Perhaps the most unusual adaptation is that of the Scribes (**kínulua**), usually referred to as "Sanitaries," for Sanitary Officer. Each quarter has one or two of these whose duty it is to stand at meetings with pencil and exercise book and pretend to record any orders or rules passed. There are said to be several who can actually read and write. They copy the form and costume, if not the function, of the male Sanitary Inspector found in every market. They wear men's clothing, like that of the Sanitary Officer, consisting of a shirt, belt, trousers and a pith helmet.

At the bottom of the ladder are the deliberately humorous Jesters or clowns (**níkonj**). They wear white paint over their entire bodies and often wear huge feathered headdresses. They perform only at large, central meetings of *Anlu* and their duty is to entertain the crowd. Male clowns are in evidence at many Tikari ceremonies, particularly funerals and the annual dances, but this is the only instance in which women have used the clown.

This is the structure of the society which by the summer of 1958 had seized the power from the men rendering the Fon and his

executive council ineffectual, a breakdown of traditional authority which persists as this is being written in May, 1959. By the middle of 1958 this tightly organized and well-disciplined group was strong enough to take the political initiative and begin a series of mass actions.

On July 3, 1958, at a huge meeting at Njinikom, where the two male advisors and the two female leaders reside, it was decided to march to the neighbouring village of Belo to show that *Anlu* had taken over authority in the whole Kom area. This first mass demonstration took place on July 8, when some 2,000 women dressed in men's clothing, vines, and carrying wooden staffs seven feet long, marched from Njinikom to the weekly market at Belo village, eight miles away. Upon arrival they crowded the market so that business came to a halt. Even when the **tabekwitfon**, the Fon's representative, tried to announce the news in the market-place as is the custom, the women seized his staff of authority and would not permit him to speak. The staff has not been returned to this day. The zinc roofs of the market were pounded with their staffs, parts of them being dented and otherwise damaged, and one part was torn off. When it was discovered that the nearby mission school was still in operation (they thought it had been closed), they rushed up the hill to close it and sealed it with the taboo plant of garden eggs. After trying to keep the school open, the two mission groups in the area decided that the low attendance warranted closing three weeks early, and, except for a few schools in the bush areas, all were re-opened in September at the end of the summer vacation. The attendance in September, however, was sharply reduced, in some instances to one-third of normal, but when the second session started in February it was back to about 90% of normal in most schools.

Back in the market the women leaders laid down the following ultimatum, including:

1. From now on *Anlu* would be in control.

2. That any people who did not follow *Anlu* would be exiled.
3. That any woman who did not follow *Anlu* would not be allowed to farm.
4. That there would be no more use of courts, schools, churches or hospitals, and that any woman who sent her child to school would be exiled.
5. That the Fon and *ju-ju* men were no longer in authority.
6. That no strangers would be allowed to stay in the Kom area; all Hausa, Fulani and Europeans should leave. (To illustrate this, they tore off part of the thatching of a nearby house owned by a man from another tribe, Bafut.)
7. That four mission teachers at Njinikom must leave the Kom area.

On July 11, 1958, the Premier made his scheduled visit to the Kom region, despite inhospitable warnings. His caravan, escorted by the District Officer, encountered a number of road blocks in the form of stones piled as high as three feet across the only road leading in and out of Kom. The party cleared paths wide enough to allow passage of the vehicles and met with no other form of resistance. The women, however, had been instructed to boycott his speeches, and only a few men were present.

As a result of these threats and machinations the District Officer together with the Fon went to a mass meeting of *Anlu* at Njinikom on July 14, 1958. There were an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 women present, all dressed in men's clothing, covered with vines, and holding their formidable-looking staffs. The District Officer stated that "it looked more like a forest than anything else." The women were quiet and orderly during the meeting in which they presented their grievances. They were told that their complaints would be heard and considered, but that law and order must and would be maintained; that further demonstrations, particularly assaults, damage to markets, and the blocking of roads would not be tolerated. They were assured by the District Officer, and the fact was confirmed by the

Fon, that stories about their land being sold were nonsense. They were told that the rule enforcing contour-farming would be held in abeyance and that where fines had been paid to the court because of the rule, the cases would be reviewed to determine whether or not they were justified. They were informed that the requested transfer of the four teachers from the mission school was not within the jurisdiction of the government, that while they were at liberty to keep their own children from attending school they must, under no circumstances, molest or interfere with any other children whose parents wished them to continue. The meeting broke up with the women apparently satisfied. *Anlu* activity continued, however, but there were no more overt outbreaks or demonstrations for some time.

Although *Anlu* is not a nativistic movement, it is apparent that there are a number of nativistic elements in it. The rejection of modern institutions such as schools and courts in favour of the old ways is a case in point. A Belo missionary was told, "In five years you will see no more zinc roofs in Kom." There was some difference of opinion, however, with some of the more radical members wanting to eliminate all European things, and others wishing to retain such European-introduced institutions as the public corn-mill and the maternity hospital. There is also a xenophobic element in *Anlu*, although no foreigner actually has been expelled from the area. Besides the partial destruction of the Bafut man's roof there was some talk of driving out the Fulani and Hausa, but no action was taken except for the killing of ten Fulani cattle at Babanki because of crop destruction. Little antagonism has been shown Europeans. The one example of a European who attempted to drive through a mass of *Anlu* women on the road and had his Land Rover pounded with their sticks until he stopped, apparently was a case of mistaken identity. They thought he might be one of the Premier's party, but when he got out and iden-

tified himself he was allowed to pass through.

The most important element of the movement, however, appears to be a political one. They seem to have been united more by what they are against (government as embodied in the K.N.C.² party) than sure of what they are for. This anti-K.N.C. feeling, at times fanatical, did not stop with the K.N.D.P.³ victory in the January election of 1959. Most European observers were of the opinion that *Anlu* would subside after this victory, that they would let bygones be bygones, but such was not the case. Persecution of the K.N.C. sympathizers continued and even accelerated. There was still no neutrality—a person not for *Anlu* was considered to be against it. Non-*Anlu* persons were still prohibited from attending any public function or ceremony, even a funeral, although they were allowed to attend the weekly market. Their crops were uprooted and the garden beds levelled. Some farms were confiscated. The uprooting of crops is a particularly serious affair, and the old *Anlu* never would have sanctioned it. Similarly, one case of *Anlu* women beating a non-*Anlu* pregnant woman was an offence specifically prohibited by old *Anlu*.

The problem of crop destruction was brought to a head by a man who took the matter to court when the fields of his wives were scattered. The destruction had been witnessed and photographed by a party of travellers passing through from Nigeria. As a result some 35 women were brought to the Bamenda court and fined £170 plus £186 for the lawyer's fees. This was a bewildering experience to the women who believed that since "their" party had won the election, the government, police and the courts were theirs. Since then crop destruction apparently ceased.

As the women began to realize that they had been used for a political purpose they began dropping out of *Anlu*. One woman said, "This is not the old *Anlu*, this is white man's *Anlu*." From nearly 100% membership, it has dropped off to about 60%, but *Anlu* still is a force to be reckoned with.

²Kameruns National Congress.

³Kameruns National Democratic Party.

Various solutions to the problem have been suggested by the Kom men, who, along with a sizeable minority of the women, are quite weary of the whole affair. "Anlu should be outlawed and all further meetings prohibited." "The leaders should receive heavy fines if further activity is discovered." An educated man from a neighbouring tribe suggests that the "present Fon, who is old, be retired in favour of a younger man."

Whatever the solution, it is apparent that the techniques of political persecution such as beatings, sabotage, ostracism, and above all intimidation, do not make for a contented society. One police official defined *Anlu* as "mass intimidation." The fact that unrest among the women is present in several neighbouring tribes is also a source of some concern. Whether deliberately spread or merely contagious, *Anlu* or something similar, has become an agency or clearing house for women's dissatisfactions in a widening area. Among one tribe the reason for an uprising is resentment of new farming techniques, another tribe protests the education levy of the local authority, a third demands retribution for crop damage.

Whether all such "disturbances," as they are officially called, should be termed *Anlu* is debatable. It is apparent, however, that the same pattern of mass demonstration recurs with each tribe utilizing such elements as the donning of vines, the carrying of the long staff, the use of the rather eerie "war-cry," and the mocking song. That a good part of the women's complaints are legitimate, or that a women's emancipation movement might be justified, is not to be denied. It is rather the almost desperate methods employed that cause the concern.

The statement of one young man is fairly representative of the more sober-minded men in Kom. "New *Anlu* has been a bad thing for Kom people, for it has caused too much suffering, and a serious loss of school time for many children. Even families have been split by this movement, with some sisters being estranged from one another because of their difference in opinions. We know that old *Anlu* is dead and will never be revived, but new *Anlu*, even if it is put down now, will leave scars that will be with us for a long time."

'N OU ONGEPUBLISEERDE LYS HOTTENTOT- EN XHOSAWOORDE

G. S. NIENABER*

S Y N O P S I S

Franz von Winkelmann visited the Eastern Province in 1788-89 and wrote a brief report in German which was published in part in volume IV of Godée Molsbergen's *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika* (The Hague, 1932). The section containing Von Winkelmann's notes on primitive languages and his vocabularies of Xhosa and Hottentot is now published for the first time.

His list of Xhosa words is of considerable importance as this is the oldest extant collection of words in a Southern Bantu language. We know that Grevenbroek compiled a list of Xhosa ("Magossi") words some hundred years earlier, obtained from survivors of the Stavenisse which was wrecked on the Natal coast in 1686, but except for the numerals 1-10, 20 and 30, his collection has been lost.

The Hottentot words are here discussed at some length, arranged alphabetically according to their Afrikaans equivalents. An interesting conclusion is the fact that the Eastern dialects have a close affinity with the extinct Cape and Kora forms, in contrast with Nama.

* * * * *

Die vierde deel van *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd* deur dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen (Linschoten-vereeniging, deel 36, Den Haag, 1932) het tot ondertitel "Tochten in het Kafferland 1776-1805." Een van die togte daarin vermeld is in 1788-9 deur F(ranz) von W(inkelmann) onderneem en beskryf in 'n manuskrip getitel *Historische Nachrichten* wat tans in die Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag, berus as onderdeel van die kolleksie Altting. Die gedeelte wat ons oor die leef- en denkwyse van die Bantoe, met name van die Xhosa, inlig, is deur Molsbergen in bovermelde reisversameling opgeneem, maar hy het sekere stukke in die manuskrip as onnodige uitweidinge beskou of van minder belang geag, en hulle toe wegelaat, bv. 'n lysie Xhosa- en Hottentotwoorde.

Op hierdie besondere weglating wil ek die aandag vestig, omdat ek meen dat sowel

die Bantoe- as die Hottentotkunde daardeur gebaat word. Ons bepaal ons vereers by die Bantowoorde.

Sover ek weet het ons hier vir Xhosa en die suidelike Bantoe die oudste bewaarde optekening van ander as telwoorde; daardeur neem dit in die chronologie die eerste plek in. Ek sê "bewaarde optekening," omdat 'n eeu-ouer glossarium op die numeralia na verlore geraak het. Die tans verlore glossarium het J. W. Grevenbroek, destyds "Secretaris Politicq" en toe nog gevestig in Kaapstad, in of voor 1695 saamgestel om amptenare en ander reisigers na die gebied van die "Magossi" (Xhosa) daarmee 'n diens te bewys.

Hy sê (in die Engelse vertaling deur prof. Farrington van die Latynse teks): "I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from

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this place. It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye mansine* means a ship . . . from *Caye*, house, and *mansine* . . . water" (VRV* 14, p. 181).

Die voorbeeldwoord bewys dat die "natives living some distance from this place" Bantoe moes gewees het. Grevenbroek sê nie in hierdie brief van hom wat hy in 1695 aan 'n ongenoemde Amsterdamse predikant geskryf het, hoe hy aan die woorde gekom het nie, maar ons het goeie rede om te dink dat die leksikologiese aanwins in verband staan met die Stavenisse wat in Februarie 1686 langs die Natalse strand ongeveer sewentig mylten suide van Durban te gronde gegaan het.

Die geskiedenis van die stranding en die lotgevalle van die skipbreukelinge daarna kan vir die besonderhede nagelees word in Theal I 286-294, en vir die algemene indruk op die nog klein klompie koloniste in 1688 by Grevenbroek self. As "Secretaris Politicq" het hy die meldinge in die amptelike verslagboeke oorgeskryf en was dus goed op hoogte van wat hulle moes verduur het. Hy was diep geroer deur die lyding en ontbering van die mense, in die besonder van die jong Franse seun Chenut, oor wie daar in sy genoemde brief van 1695 veel meer verskyn as in die offisiële verslae van 1688.

Dit wil voorkom of Grevenbroek self die persoon is wat die jong man begunstig het en by wie Chenut tot aan sy vertrek na sy Hugenotebroer in Friesland ingewoon het. Van hom sê Grevenbroek (in die Engelse vertaling van sy brief): "Being now skilled in the native tongue he learned much of their origin, laws, and customs, and together with much else worth knowing, that they were called Magosi . . ." (VRV 14, 221-3). Die een groepie Hollandse skipbreukelinge was ongeveer 'n jaar saam met bevriende Engelse onder die Zoeloës te Port Natal en die ander oorlewendes was naastenby twee jaar onder die Xhosas. Volgens sy uitdruklike aanwysing is Grevenbroek se lys 'n versameling van Xhosawoorde, en dit het hy ongetwyfeld verkry deur bemiddeling

van Chenut of deur ondervraging van daardie Hollanders wat bepaald die taal redelik magtig geword het. Grevenbroek self was nooit in Xhosaland nie.

Dit stel ons in staat om met 'n redelike mate van sekerheid die lys te dateer. In 1688 het hy die geleentheid gehad om die woorde op te teken, en in 1695 deel hy mee dat hy so 'n eie lys in sy besit het. Tussen die twee datums het hy die glossarium gemaak, maar die waarskynlikste gevolgtrekking is dat dit in 1688 of direk daarna tot stand gekom het.

Dat Grevenbroek in eerste instansie 'n utiliteitsoogmerk hiermee gehad het (vir "travellers" en "explorers"), bewys die praktiese sin van die voorbeeldige staatsamptenaar, maar ons doen hom 'n onreg aan as ons verswyg dat hy ook die wetenskap wou dien. So verklaar hy: "Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from one to ten in use both among the Magosi and here among our Africans [verstaan: . Hottentotte]. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Borchard, skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing their origin" (VRV 14, p. 281). Borchard was 'n befaamde geleerde, kenner van Oosterse tale.

Aan hierdie wetenskaplike belangstelling dank ons die behoud van die getalle 1 tot 10, 20 en 30 in Xhosa soos dit deur hom gehoor en opgeteken is uit die jaar 1688 of daaromtrent. Die res van die lys is, soos gesê, verlore, en daarmee neem Von Winkelmann se compendium die eerste plek in as die oudste bewaarde versameling woorde uit Xhosa. Dit dateer uit die jare 1788 en 1789. Terloops sy gemeld dat die eerste vokabularium, aan dr. Bleek bekend, die lys van 600 woorde is wat vervat is in die manuskrip van dr. Van der Kemp *Specimens of the Kaffra language*, saamgestel voor November 1805. Hy gee besonderhede daaroor in die katalogus *The Library of his Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B.* (Londen en Leipzig, 1858, pp. 46-47).

Omdat die bydrae van Von Winkelmann, sover ek weet, nog nooit gepubliseer is nie,

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wil ek dit graag langs hierdie weg bekend maak en haal dit in extenso in die oorspronklike Duitse teks aan, volgens die fotostatiese weergawe daarvan in my besit. Oor die Xhosawoorde sal ek hier nie verder uitwei nie en laat die annotasie daarvan oor aan 'n kollega, 'n deskundige op hierdie gebied.

Von Winkelmann het meer gegee as net 'n tagtig Xhosawoorde. Hy wou hierdie taal vergelyk met 'n ander "primitiewe" taal van die Kaapkolonie, d.w.s. hy wou "einigermassen" die verskille tussen Xhosa en Hottentots na vore bring. Sy nog uiters oppervlakkige gevolgtrekkinge het ten gunste van Xhosa uitgeval, hoofsaaklik omdat hy teen die oorwoekerende aantal en baie soorte tongslae van Hottentots vooringenome was. Hy beweer niemand kan hulle op so 'n wyse beskryf dat 'n ander persoon daarvolgens die Schnalze so kan verklank dat hulle vir 'n Hottentot herkenbaar sal wees nie. In Xhosa is die Schnalze onopvallend; oor die algemeen bevind hy dat hierdie taal, in teenstelling met Hottentots, "voll Nachdruck [ist], voll Vocalen—männlich und nicht arm an Worten."

Om die weetgierige in staat te stel om 'n eie oordeel te vorm word vir vergelykingsdoelindes so ver moontlik dieselfde begrippe in albei tale weergegee. Net so min as Grevenbroek vroeër, lig Von Winkelmann ons tans in met wie se hulp hy sy woorde versamel het. Ons weet dat hy 'n Hottentot as "Dollmetscher" gehad het, iemand dus wat Hottentots en Hollands geken het, en moontlik was hierdie tolk sy segspersoon vir die verkryging van die Hottentotse woorde wat in die tweede lys aangegee is.

Die historiese betekenis van die Hottentotse lys is veel geringer. Deurdat die direkte aanraking met die Hottentotte soveel langer geduur het as met die Xhosas, is Von Winkelmann se lys nie 'n voorloper vir Hottentots soos wel vir Xhosa nie.

Miskien is dit nodig dat ons ook die plek van sy Hottentotse glossarium histories moet aandui. Daar is 'n maklike algemene indeling deurdat (i) alle leksikologiese data tot 1712 betrekking het op die taal soos dit in Tafelvallei en nabygeleë gebiede gepraat

en gehoor is, en daarna (ii) in die verdergeleë randgebiede van die Kolonie.

Toevallig het ons hier tydperke van omstreeks sestig jaar elk. Die eerste bekende poging is van Sir Thomas Herbert wat in 1626 die tien numeralia en 21 geleenthedswoorde bewaar het. Die vestiging van die Kompanjiespos het in 1652 plaasgevind en gedurende die sestig jaar hieropvolgend (tot aan 1712) is ons vir die kennis van Hottentotse woorde aangewys op E. de Flacourt (1655), G. F. Wreede (1663), W. ten Rhyme (1673), per N. Witsen (1691; 1697), J. G. Grevenbroek (1695), F. Valentyn (1705), P. Kolbe (omtrent 1710) en J. D. Bütner (1712). Hierdie lyste vir sover hulle bewaar is, behels 'n goeie halwe duisend verskillende woorde.

Dan kry ons 'n sestig jaar van stilte. As Thunberg in 1773 as eerste daarna weer 'n paar woorde en gebruiklike frases opteken, is dit van die Hottentotte aan die periferie, want binne die koloniale grense het die gekleurdes in mindere of meerdere mate hulle taal prysgegee. Toe het Kaaps-Hottentots in engere sin, d.w.s. Hottentots in die ou kerngebied van die Boland, met die sentrifugale verspreiding van die blanke beskawing van Kaapstad uit nagenoeg heeltemal verdwyn. Die taal is toe nog hoofsaaklik in die Oostelike en Noordwestelike uithoeke van die Kolonie as omgangsmedium gebruik, en natuurlik daarbuite onder die Kora, Griekwa en Nama. Met die uitsondering van Borcherds is al die versamelinge afkomstig van geleerde besoekers, in die volgende kronologiese orde: Thunberg (1773), Sparrman (1775), albei Swede; Le Vaillant (1780-85), 'n Fransman; Von Winkelmann (1788), 'n Duitser; Barrow (1797), 'n Engelsman; Borcherds (1803); Lichtenstein (1805), weer 'n Duitser; Burchell (1811-2) en Campbell (1815), albei Engelse, ensovoorts. Vir die situering van Von Winkelmann se bydrae hoef ons nie verder te gaan nie. Met Campbell staan ons buitendien in 'n nuwe tydperk wat met Van der Kemp begin het (1805) en wat deur die ywer van sendelinge ten opsigte van Hottentots beheers word.

Terloops wys ons op 'n interessante verskil tussen die lyste van die eerste en tweede

groep. Tot aan Büttner is daar slegs een senuweeagtige poging om twee tongslae te onderken, en dan taamlik willekeurig, andersins gebruik hulle almal net een teken om al die Schnalze as 'n verskynsel uit te druk, maar in die tydvak wat met Thunberg begin, onderskei die meerderheid met redelike nou-

keurigheid drie verskillende tongslae, soos ook Von Winkelmann doen. Ons stel hom nou self aan die woord.

Vooraf mag gemeld word dat sy ortografie, interpunksie en fleksiedikwels erg onortodox is en die indruk van slordigheid maak; sy formulering is veelal ver van duidelik.

Sprache.

Unterschied zwischen der Sprache der Kaffern und der Hottentotten.

So bald sich die Menschen in Gesellschaften vereinigten, so bald musten sie auch eine Sprache haben. Die Sprache wilder Nationen wird vorzüglich durch ihre Bedürfnisse, durch ihre Neigung etc. erweitert und vervielfältiger. Es giebt unter den Wilden mehrere Stämme, die einen Reichthum an Worten mit gewissem Nachdruck und Würde verbinden; es giebt wieder andre deren Sprache arm an Worten, ohne Würde und Nachdruck ist. Die Sprache der Hottentotten, die sich vor allen Sprachen wilder Nationen durch ihr eigenthümliches in Rücksicht der Beschwerlichkeit ihrer Aussprache und der Unmöglichkeit, sie nach ihrem schnalzenden Karakter recht zu schreiben, ist arm, zu zeiten nicht unsanft, bisweilen wohlklengend; die Sprache der Kaffern hingegen ist voll Nachdruck, voll Vocalen—männlich und nicht arm an Worten. Ein Kaffer ist eben so wenig einem Hottentotten, als dieser jenem in seiner Sprache verständlich, es müste denn durch die Erlernung jeder Sprache geschehen. Die Kaffern haben indessen doch auch in vielen ihrer Worte ein Schnalzen, teils mit der am Gaumen mit einer gewissen Spannung angelegden—and schnell nach unten losgespannten Zunge; oder aus dem Halse. Hingegen ersezt der grössre Reichthum an Worten das, was die Hottentotten durch die verschiedenen Gattungen ihrer Schnalzer oder Zungenschläge ausdrücken und sagen müssen. Die Kaffern geben ihren Worten durch das starke Ausstossen derselben durch den Hals, durch die besondre Verbindung der Vocalen mit den Consumenten und dann vorzüglich durch das starke Dehnen einiger End- und Mittelvocalen einen besondern Klang und Nachdruck. Sie wissen auch durch zusammensezung verschiedner Bilder nach Masgabe des Gegenstandes, den sie beschreiben wollen z. B. im Kriegs Gesang, den Klang, der Sache anzupassen. Ich zweifle nicht dass man die Sprache dieses volks auf gewisse Regeln bringen könnte, da man nicht nur gewisse Unterscheidungen bemerken; sondern auch beinahe alle Worte schreiben kann. Die Sprache der Hottentotten ist wohl auch auf gewisse Regeln zu bringen; ich glaube aber nie, dass auch bei der sorgfältigsten Umschreibung jedes besondern Schnalzers irgend ein Kopf sie, dem Hottentotten verständlich, darnach erlernen könnte. Davon fürhe ich hier nur einstweilen 3. Worte als ein Beispiel an, die beinahe immer einerlei Hall und doch durch ihre 3 unterschiedenen Schnalzer, wesentlich von einander unterschieden sind.

Fleisch heisst Xc O

Salz X O

ein Beil X O.

das erste, wo das X den Schlag der Zunge oder den Schnalzer bedeutet, wird durch die Kehle, beinahe wie ks ausgesprochen, doch muss das k nicht ganz gehört, sondern vielmehr in einen etwas harten dem k ähnelnden Schnalzer verwandelt und mit dem O zu leich gehört werden.

Das 2te hat einen—mehr mit der Zunge vom Gaumen nach unten zu hervorgebrachten, nicht so holen und tiefen, aber auch keinen so hellen Schnalzer.

Das 3te hat einen feinen sehr kurzen und helltönenden schnalzer durch eine besondere Bewegung und anstrengung der Zunge vom Gaumen weg.

Bei den Kaffern hingegen heisst

das Fleisch	Niammä
ein Beil	Séembe

für Salz haben sie kein originelles Wort, weil sie kein 'Salz gebrauchen.

Im ersten Wort wird das erste **a** stark und gedehnt mit dem ersten **m** verbunden, ausgesprochen.

Im Zweijten, liegt ein accent auf dem ersten **e**; das zweijte **e** wird mit dem **m** etwas gedehnt und stark; und das letzte kaum hörbar und kurz ausgesprochen.

Die Hottentotten sezen, wenn sie den pluralen bezeichnen wollen, ans Ende des Worts gewöhnlich noch ein **a** oder **ka** auch **ga**. z. B.¹

Mung	das Aug;	munga	die Augen.
x kung	oder wie t'kung	ein Zahn;	
t'kunga die Zähne.			

Den Articulum unitatis Ein, Eine hörte ich unter den Kaffern sehr oft durch **n** das durch die Nase als ein bloser Ton ausgedrückt und mit dem Wort unmittelbar verbunden wird. Für den pluralem konnte ich aber keine sichere Regel bestimmen. Ich bemerkte zwar in vielen Worten das man durch Beiwörter z. E. (**Awa**) **amang id ninsi**, die vielheit bezeichne.

Hier sind zwei Beispielen für den Singularem und für den pluralem:

n' phase (awa)	eine Frau
amang phase	viel Frauen

zu zeiten hörte ich auch beide Worte amang und ninse bei einem Substantivo gebrauchen z. B.

Amang phase ninsi welches zusammen sehr viele Frauen bezeichnet. Hier folgen nun aus jeder dieser Sprachen, mehrere Beispiele:

Kaffer Sprache

Langka—die Sonne
Njanka—der Mond
Aninquintsche—die Sterne
Leadudama—das Donnerwetter
D'japanaeä—der Blitz
Abandu—der Mensch
Doda—der Mann.
n'doda—ein Mann
N'phase—die Frau
n'tsohu—ein Haus
Pao—der Vater, kurz

M'maho—die Mutter
N'ekooetu—ein Bruder
udewuete—die Schwester
Kwengkweng—das Kind
Sovuba—Brod
Maansi—Wasser
M'lililo—das Feuer, das o etwas hohl.
Ukuseha—essen. sehr leicht die beide u ausgesprochen.
Amaansi—die Milch.
Boona—der Mais oder turkish Korn.
Smija—Kafferkorn oder grober Hirsen.
Gaawi—der Ochs

¹das **g** wird kaum hörbar ausgesprochen, jedoch behält es seinen Karakter als ein **g** noch bei.

Emmaasi—die Kuh
Thoole—das Kalb.
Thogaasie—eine junge Kuh.
Jilehasche—das Pferd.
n'tschomo—ein Elephant.
n'koombo—ein Rhinoceros.
n'fuppu—ein Nilpferd.
n'kw—ein Tiger.
konjama—der Löwe.
n'huuka—der Wolf.
Ingxha—das Gras (**x** bedeutet hier einen leisen Schnalzer, wie **tz.**)
n'tscha—ein Hund
n'loombo—der Fluss
n' düka mkaulu—ein hoher Baum.
Tsischatsche—das Gesträuch.
n' dawankuuhlu—ein hoher Berg.
n' dang jana—ein Hügel.
X Imbi oder **Tzimbi**—Eisen.
nünsi—viel.
Tzi x ningane—klein wenig **x** ein leiser Schmaz Schnalzer.
M' manguale—der Leib.
n' tschooga—ein Kopf.
oemli—das Haar.
h'unzti—die Stirne.
n' linglilüscho—ein Aug.
mambine linglilüscho, die beide Augen.
untschebe Sombine—die Ohren.
n' pumuloo—eine Nase.
m' loome—der Mund.
amavünje—die Zähne.
L' loemi—die Zunge.
Tsilaewe—das Kinn.
n' thami—der Hals.
Lingjegalabbe—die Schulter.
n' koome—ein Arm
n' koome sombine—die beiden Arme.
Isantscha—die Hände.
Iwünwe—die Finger.
Amambheele—die Brüste.
m' lentze—die Beine.
n' m' lentze ein Bein.
n' je lunje—ein Fuss.
hamba—gehen.
hamba muga—geh schnell, oder packe dich.
Tzisabba—kom her (**bb** wie ein **w**).
Kuusa meme—Tag—Licht.
Kusaewuehle—es wird Tag.

Kusapauga—es wird nagt; oder der Tag verght.
Oona—sehen
Sissinkjene—bring Holz.
Ase m' lulo—mache feuer an.
aoeae (äoä)—Ja.
hai—Nein.
Lola—schlafen.
Osa psinjane—Sie werden bald kommen.
Osa hi v n' oilane—werden sie mit Wagens kommen?
Osa' n' jane illihasche—sie werden mit Pferden kommen.

Hottentotts Sprache

Soeroe—die Sonne.
X oder T'ka—der Mond.
X oder Tsgoro—die Sterne.
X garu oder **X guru**—der Donner, ein harter Schnalzer mit der Zunge
Tabae oder **parae**—der Bliz
X Keukoe—der Mensch mit einem leisen Schnalzer
Kooma—ein Hauss (das **K** oder **C** muss durch den Hals ausgestossen werden).
Boo—der Vater.
Tiinsa—die Mutter
Tikei—der ältere Bruder.
Tixha—der jüngre Bruder.
(**x** ein schmaz Schnalzer).
X ona—das Kind (leiser Schlag)
Pree—das Brod.
X gamma—das Wasser (**x** heller Schnalzer).
X ei—Feuer (**x** wie ongefehr **ts**) verwundrungs ausdruck **c** mit der Zunge.
X ung—essen (**x** mit einem hellen doch nicht harten Schlag)
Bi—Milch.
X gambi — süsse Milch (verwunderungs Schlag).
Kgo—der Ochs (**k** ist hier der Schnalzer der etwa wie ein hartes **k** gehört werden muss).
Kgo's—die Kuh (gedehnt).
X noona—Kälber (**X** kaum dass die Zunge zischt).
hanka—das Pferd—auch die Pferde.
X koa—der Elephant. das **o** muss kaum gehört werden und **x** nur schwach seijn.

n'angxba—ein Rhinozeros (**n** nur durch die nase. **x** leicht geschnalzt mit der Zunge, doch muss es tönen wie ang.)

X kao—Seekuh oder das Nilpferd. **x** ein harter Schnalzer.

Nota: Um alle die fernern und über flüssigen Weitläufigkeiten zu vermeiden, übergehe ich die genauere Beschreibung all der unterschiedlichen Schmalzer. Man sieht aus diesen bisherigen Beispielen, dass es zum Wesen des Ausdrucks gehört, jedem Wort seine eigenthümlichen Schnalzer zu geben. In den fernern Beispielen bezeichne ich blos die Schläge mit **xxx**.

x bedeutet den leisen Schmaz schnalzer ohngefähr wie **tz**.

v—den hellen klingenden Schlag, und

X—den rauhen mehr durch die kehle ausgestossenen Schnalzer, wie kg.

Koaeso—der Tiger.

v kamma—der Löwe.

n' huka—der Wolf.

x ka—das Gras.

Tu—der Hund.

v ae—der Fluss.

x gani—der Vogel.

Hi—der Baum.

Hika—mehr oder viel Bäume.

v khu—Erde.

x eu—ein S^tein

X koago—in hoher Berg

Ku—ein Hugel.

x heri—das Thal.

v au—eine Fläche. Hier ist eigentlich das **v** ein holer tiefer Schnalzer.

v ori—Eisen.

x kwaesa—viel.

x orae—wenig.

Bin v k'a—der Kopf (2.).

x ung x a—die Haare.

X n' aunka—die Ohren (3)

x k' eu—die Nase (2.)

X gamm—der Mund (3.)

Tamm—die Zunge.

X oewn—die Hand. (3)

n' x n' anüka—die finger (1.)

n' x 'n' ani—der finger (1.)

x g'owae—Schreiben (1.)

v k' inië—ein Brief (2.)

Samk'a—die Brüste.

v ei—der Fuss (2)

v g'ae—die Schulter (2.)

Su—der Topf.

v g'ung—gehen (2.)

v k'ünsi—gut (2.)

v g'a—sterben (2.)

Itzeri—er ist gestorben oder hingegangen.

v n' un' v k'oa—es wird tag (2.)

Ang—Ja. (ng blos hörbar durch die Nase.)

ahang—Nein.

v omm—schlafen (2.)

öngsama—gut, wohl, recht.

Susa Enne ha—werden sie bald kommen?

Enne Susa ha—sie werden bald kommen.

Enne ha korohi ha—werden sie mit Wagens kommen?

a'hang-te han x koa Enne hanka—nein, sie werden mit Pferden kommen (2.)

x eu—Eins. (1.)

x amm—Zweiij. (1)

v gonang—Dreij. (2.)

hakka—Vier.

gisi—fünf.

Weiter zählen die Hottentotten nicht. Die folgenden Zahlen werden durch die Finger angezeigt. Der Hottentott hebt z. B. fünf Finger auf, und sagt: **gisi**, nimmt er die andern fünf dazu: so ist diess noch einmal so viel als das vorhergehende oder zehn, oder 2×5 oder **2 amgisi**.

nonang gisi— $3 \times 5 = 15$

han'ka gisi— $4 \times 5 = 20$, etc.

So viel ist hinreichend, um einigermassen von dem Unterschied der Sprachen beider Völker urteilen zu können. Ich suchte, so viel wie

Nota.—Alle **oe** werden nach Deutscher prononciation als ein ö und alle **u** als **ou** im franz. und als **oe** im holländ. ausgesprochen—und **u** bedeutet lang und kurz.

möglich, diese Worte ganz nach ihrem Klang nieder zu schreiben. Man sieht übrigens daraus, wie viel zum wenigsten in der Sprache der Hottentotten darauf ankömmt die Schnalzer als wesentliche Mitlaut bei jedem Wort recht aus zudrücken.

F. v. W(INKELMANN)

* * * * *

Von Winkelmann se lys bevat 'n aanwys van die volgende drie woorde in die sin dat ons hulle by hom vir die allererste keer aantref: **sk'inië** (Nama ≠ **kaní-s**) vir brief; **xorae** (Nama /ord) vir weinig; en **xn'unxk'oa** (Nama //góa-b) vir dagbreek.

Ten spye van die feit dat oor die sewentig woorde reeds by ander versamelaars voorkom, is dit duidelik dat hy sy lys onafhanklik van ander aangelé het. Dit is in die geheel sy eie werk.

Soos vir ander, het die aanduiding van tongslae ook vir hom groot moeilikheid opgelewer—hy sê trouens dat hulle onbeskryfbaar is. Tog wend hy 'n poging aan om hulle so getrou moontlik te verduidelik. In die begin gee hy by elke woord taamlik uitvoerig aan hoe die "Schnalzer" klink, maar dan word hy gou vir die uitvoerigheid moeg en van "Löwe" af aan onderskei hy die drie waargenome klikklanke met 'n **x** van verskillende grootte, naamlik 'n klein **x**, 'n hoofletter **X** en ten derde een wat tussenin lê en wat ek voorstel met 'n onderstreepte **x** (dus as **v**). Dat die leser moeite het om presies te weet of hy die klein of middelslag **x** soms bedoel, sal sonder meer duidelik wees; gelukkig het hy dit self besef en het toe besluit om te help deur tussen hakies 'n (1) of (2) of (3) agteraan te plaas vir die **x**, die **v** en die **X** onderskeidelik.

In hoofsaak skyn die **x** die / te verteenwoordig, die **v** is gewoonlik die ! of die ≠; die **X** bly willekeurig; hy gebruik dit selde.

In die eerste gedeelte waar hy die tongslae nog apart beskryf, doen hy dit op grond van die akoestiese indruk. Die indruk is ongelukkig chaoties. Gemeet aan Nama kan ons enigsins orde skep, en dan geld die volgende: Die serebrale ! is vir hom 'n harde, rou klank (seker geen insiggewende beskrywing nie!), die laterale en palatale Schnalze (// en ≠) is helder ("ein heller, klingender Schlag"), en die dentale /,

"ohngefahr wie **ts**," is sag of klink soos 'n "Verwunderungsausdruck," of andersins sê hy dit "bedeutet den leisen Schmaz schnalzer ongefahr wie **tz**." "Schmaz" is 'n klank-nabootsende woord vir 'n klapsoen, verwant aan "schmecken," of, in ander verband, as iemand sy kos oopmond en hoorbaar eet, word gesê: "er schmatzt." Al hierdie welmenende aanduidinge sal 'n leser nie veel help om die tongslae voort te bring nie en skep eerder groter verwarring in plaas van dat hulle meer helderheid gee.

Soos die tongslae is ook die Hottentotse nasaleringswyse 'n lastige verskynsel om met Latynse skriftekens weer te gee. Von Winkelmann gebruik gewoonlik 'n **n** of 'n **ng** na die genasaleerde voakaalkern, soms met 'n waarskuwing daarby dat hulle nie suwer konsonante is nie. So help hy sy leser by **mung**, oog, (Nama **mū-s**), tereg met die opmerking "das **g** wird kaum hörbar ausgesprochen, jedoch behält es seinen Karakter als ein **g** noch bei." Wat hy blykbaar wil sê, is dat die **ng** 'n velêre nasaal is. Omdat hy hom steeds op 'n akoestiese in plaas van 'n organiese standpunkt stel, mis sy aanwysinge skerp, maar by die saak van nasalering het ons nie werklik moeilikheid om hom te volg nie. Wel duik hier sydelings 'n vraag op wat ons nie nou kan bespreek nie, nl. of die Oostelike en Kaapse Hottentotialekte nie anders, of altans soms anders genasaleer het as wat vandag in Nama die geval is nie. Ook Lichtenstein beweer dat die verneusklinking soms 'n sterk velêre kwaliteit besit het, d.w.s. iets soos 'n -**ing** of -**ung** laat hoor het.

Om na die ander spellingmaniere oor te gaan moet gedink word dat Von Winkelmann vir Duitse lezers skryf. So verklaar hy uitdruklik dat **oe** by hom as ö in Duits verklank moet word (hy bedoel wel die kort ö soos in **können**), en die **u** is die gewone Duitse **u** wat soos die Franse **ou**

of die Hollandse **oe** gehoor moet word. Of die **ae**, wat 'n paar keer voorkom, as Duits **ä** te waardeer is, bly ongesê omdat dit vir hom miskien vanselfsprekend lyk.

Dit is opmerklik hoedat Von Winkelmann by die selfstandige naamwoorde in die enkelvoud die uitgang weggelaat, behalwe by hoogstaande uitsondering, bv. *by koei*. Die dualis vervang hy met die meervoud (bv. *oë, ore, borste*), meestal in die ou objeksvorm masc. Die woordeskatalog self openbaar hoe die dialekte van die ou Kaapse, Oostelike en Korahottentotte 'n eenheid vorm teenoor Nama, sowel wat tongslae betref as die stamme of wortels. Hierdie punte kan bes geillustreer word as ons die woorde een vir een beskou, hieronderstaande alfabeties gerangskik volgens die Afrikaanse trefwoord, met die Duitse ekwiwalent tussen hakies geplaas en die Namaterm vir vergelyking bygevoeg soos verstrekkende Kroenlein. Om tipografiese redes is die diakritiese tekens vir toon-kwaliteit veelal weggelaat.

aarde (Erde) **xkhu**, Na. *!hu-b* (-eib); genusartikel weggelaat.

baie (viel) **xkwaesa**, Na. */gúi*; -sa wrsk. nadrukssuffixs.

berg (ein hoher Berg) **Xkoago**. Ek kan dit nie met 'n Namawoord vereenselwig nie, blykbaar het dit daarin in onbruik geraak. De Flacourt, 1655, gee **cou** (montagne), Van Riebeeck: "for *Khoe* means all this: a high mountain" (21 Sept. 1660), Witsen, 1691, sê **k'koe** is "een berg," Kolbe 1705-13 skryf dit **k-hu**, terwyl Valentyn **Koe** as die woord vir "berg" aangee in die taal van die Klein Grigriquas. Die uitgang **-go** is moontlik die pluralisvorm manlik, dus "julle hoë berge," of te beskou as **-gu** (-ga), dus: "hoë berge." Die gewone name vir "berg" in Nama vandag is **!hòmi** of **!hùmi** en **/úib**.

blits (der Bliz) **Tabae** of **parae**, Nama **náwa-b**, of in die spelling van Tindall **naba-p**, wat albei op 'n ander stam teruggaan. **Tabae** is onder die Korana bewaar (Lichtenstein 1803-06 **t'abaa**, Burchell 1812 **tabap**, Engelbrecht **tabab**) en, volgens A. Smith 1835, onder die Griekwa. Smith gee aan Griekwa **tabacocu** en Moderne Korana **tabaku** (meervoud), vgl.

VRV deel 21, p. 283 en 316. Die naam hang saam met Kora **taba**, blink of glinster, volgens die optiese indruk. **Parae** (**Barae**) kan ek nie identifiseer nie.

boom (der Baum) **Hi**, pl. **Hika**, Nama **hei-b**. Genusartikel weggelaat; die **-ka** skyn die objeksvorm van die pl. masc. te wees. **borste** (die Brüste) **Samk'a**, Na. **samra** (dualisvorm). Die **-k'a** is meervoudsvorm, manlik, objekverband. Hierdie woord verskyn van die allereerste lys van Herbert 1626 af aan en is altyd aanwesig, onder ander weens die uitsonderlike vorm en grootte van die mammae wat vir Jan en Alleman sigbaar was, te alle tye, en daarom opgeval het.

brief (ein Brief) **xk'inië**, Na. ≠ **kani-s**. Die toon op die tweede lettergreep goed gehoor. Artikel ontbreek.

broer (i) **ouer broer** (der ältere Bruder) **Tikei**, uit **ti** en **kei**, waar **kei**, Na. **géi**, groot beteken, dus soveel as Ouboet; (ii) **jong broer** (der jüngere Bruder) **Tixha**, uit **ti** en **xha**, waar **xha**, Na. **/ga**, klein beteken, dus soveel as Kleinboet. Die genusuitgang ontbreek. Die **ti** is nie sonder meer duidelik nie; dit kan dalk 'n sametrekking van **ti** (my) en die stam in **i-b** (vader) en **i-s** (moeder) wees.

brood (das Brod) **Pree**, Na. **Béré-b**. Genus-aanduiding weggelaat. Die Hottentotse fonologiese stelsel laat die wisseling **b** en **p** normaalweg toe. Ons het hier 'n leenwoord uit Hollands of Engels, reeds in 1623 deur Olafsson opgeteken, dus een van die oudste ontlennings.

byl (ein Beil) **Xo**, Na. **!o-b**. Artikel weggelaat.

dagbreek (es wird tag) **xn'un'xk'oa**, Na. **//góa-b**, wat ooreenstem met **-xk'oa**, sonder artikel; voorafgaande helfte onseker.

dal (das Thal) **xheri**, miskien verwant aan Korana **'karrée-p**, "Valley or watery place", volgens Burchell (II, 181).

donder (der Donner) **Xgaru** of **Xguru**, Na. **!gurù-b**. Artikel ontbreek.

drie (Dreij) **xgonang**, Na. **!noná, !oná**.

een (Eins) **xeu**, Na. **/gui**.

eet (essen) **xung**, Na. ≠ **ū**. Die **-ng** is die weergawe van die nasale vokaal.

gaan (gehen) **vg'ung**, Na. **!gūn**. Baie goed gehoor.

goed (gut) **vk'iinsi**. Moontlik is dit verwant

aan Na. **!gái**, sodat die **-n-** die nasale vokaal verteenwoordig en die **-si** die agtervoegsel is waarmee adverbia van adjektiva gevorm word (Na. **-se**).
goed, wel, reg (gut, wohl, recht) **öngsama**.

Na. **ësá?**

gras (das Gras) **xka**, Na. **/gā-b**. Manlike uitgang weggelaat.

hand (die Hand) **Xoewn(?)**, handskrif onduidelik; dit kan ook wees **Xoenn** of **Xoemi**. Na. **!ómi**.

hare (die Haare) **xungva**, meervoud by

xung, objektsuitgang, Na. **/ü-b**. Die **-ng-** stel die nasaal voor.

heuwel (ein Hügel) **Ku**. Kyk onder **berg** höerop. Dit is duidelik dat Von Winkelmann onderskei tussen **Xkoago** en **Ku**, die eerste met, die tweede sonder 'n tongslag, as synde twee verskillende woorde vir verskillende formaat van die begrip, maar ander waarnemers meen dat **ku** ook die begrip van "hoe" berg dek.

hond (der Hund) **Tu**, onverwant met Na. **ari-b**. Dit skyn of die gebruik van hierdie woord tot die Gonékwa en die Oostelike Hottentotte beperk was. Thunberg 1773 gee **Tutu** en **Tup**, Sparrman 1775-6 **Tu** en, in die meervoud **tuna**, en Barrow 1797 **toona**, ook meervoud. Dit mag 'n leenwoord wees.

huis (ein Hauss) **Kooma**, Na. **ómi**. Die Anlaut mag dialekties wees. Die **-a** is objektsvorm.

ja (Ja) **Ang**, Na. **a**, **eió**, ens., die klankwaarde is goed weergegee.

kalwers (Kälber) **Xnoona**, met uitgang van die pl. comm. **(-na)**, objekverband, Na. **tsäu-b**. Uitgestorwe Kaaps-Hottentots het dieselfde woord gehad, bv. by Witsen 1691 **Thona** en **nona**, by Valentyn 1705 en Kolbe 1705-13 **Thona** en **Nonna**, telkens pl. comm. Kora het dit ook bewaar, bv. Engelbrecht **/nōa-b**, of uit 1805 by Lichtenstein **t²nom**.

kind (das Kind) **Xona**, pl. comm. vir Na.

/go-b, 'n knaap. Volgens Wuras het die Kora nie 'n woord vir "kind" nie en ge-

bruik, soos hier, die pl. comm., vgl. Vokabular 15.

klip (ein Stein) **xeu**, Na. **/úi-s**. Artikel weggelaat.

koei (die Kuh) **kgo's** ("gedehnt"), wrsk. uit Hollands **koei**. Na. **gamà-s**, **gomà-s**. By wyse van uitsondering is die vroulike uitgang **-s** hier bewaar, geskryf 's.

kom (kommen) **Ha**, Na. **hä**.

kop (der Kopf) **Biuxk'a**. In Na. **taná-s** is die woord nie meer bewaar nie, wel in Kora, bv. by Appleyard **bi'kam** en Wuras **biām**, en in ou Kaaps-Hottentots, bv. by De Flacourt **bihcham**, Witsen **biqua** en **biquaan** en Valentyn 1705 **Bik-kwa**, waarin ons eweneens die ou manlike meervoud in objeksvorm terugvind.

leeu (der Löwe) **vkamma**, Na. **χámi**. Von Winkelmann het ook hier 'n tongslag gehoor.

maan (der Mond) **Xka** of **T'ka**, Na. **//khā-b**. Artikel is weggelaat, die nasaal ook.

melk (Milch) **Bi**, soetmelk **Xgam-bi**, Na. **déi-b**. Artikel ontbreek. Die **b** en **d** kan volgens die Hottentotse fonologiese sisteem afwissel; vgl. **dachab** en **bachab**. **Xgam-bi** is letterlik "mond-melk" Na. **àm-s**.

mens (der Mensch) **Xkeukoe**, Na. **khóië**; hier is wrsk. die ekwiwalent **khoi-khoi-b**, sodat nogeens 'n tongslag verkeerdelik (?) gehoor is en die manlike enkelvoudsartikel is weggelaat.

moeder (die Mutter) **Tiinsa**, Na. **éi-s**, **i-s**, **//gū-s**, **mamá-s**, **sàu-s**. Miskien is **tiinsa** 'n saamgetrokke vorm van **ti-is**, my moeder, met die **-n-** vir die nasaal en die **-a** 'n versterkende vorm.

mond (der Mund) **Xgamm**, Na. **àm-s**. Weer merk ons dat hier 'n Schnalz gehoor is waar Nama dit nie het nie, maar Kora het dit inderdaad, bv. by Engelbrecht **//ams**, mondjie, en ook ou Kaaps-Hottentots.

nee (Nein) **ahang**, Na. **hēē**. Die **-ng** verteenwoordig die nasaalkleur van die vokaal **-a-**. Reeds deur De Flacourt 1655 aangegee as **nen**.

neus (die Nase) **vk'eu**, Na. **≠gui-s**. Die uitgang ontbreek.

olifant (der Elephant) **xkoxa**, Na. ≠ **koá-b.**
Die uitgang ontbreek.

oog (das Aug) **Mung**, pl. **munga**, Na. **mū-s**,
by **mū**, sien.

ore (die Ohren) **Xn'aunka**, met pluraaluitgang **-ka**, Na. //nōú-b, gehoor, oor, naas die gewone ≠ **gai-s**. Weereens het Oostelike Hottentots dieselfde woord in gewone gebruik as ou Kaaps-Hottentots en Kora, by lsg. //nāu-b vir oor, blaar en tak.

os (der Ochs) **Kgo**, Na. **gamà-b** of **gomà-b.**
Kyk onder **koei**.

perd (das Pferd) **hanka**, mv. met objeksvorm, Na. **há-b.**

pot (der Topf) **Su**, Na. **sū-s.** Artikel ontbreek. Reeds by Ten Rhyne 1673 vir kleipot van eie fabrikaat in teenstelling met die blankes se kanne of bekers, waarvoor die leenwoord backkerie (Witsen) gebruik was.

renoster (ein Rhinocerus) **n'angxba**, Na. !**nawà-s.** Artikel ontbreek. Die spelling is onbeholpe; kyk sy aantekening in die teks. Die **n'** stel wrsk. 'n tongslag voor by die **n**, maar die **x**, "leicht geschnalzt," is nie deur ander by die tweede silbe gehoor nie. Dit verskyn reeds by De Flacourt 1655.

rivier (der fluss) **xae**, Na. !**ä-b.** Artikel ontbreek; die **æ** is of 'n aanduiding van lengte of 'n dialektiese afwyking wat ons kan hoor in Dweekie, wisselvorm van Dwyka, bv. by Steedman, waar die **-ie** die slot is vir rivier (Na. !**ä-b**). Dwyka is: renosterrivier.

seekoei (Seekuh oder das Nilpferd) **Xkao**, Na. !**kào-s.** Uitgang weggelaat.

skouer (die Schulter) **xg'ae**, Na. !**ho-s**, ook //**ki-b.** Die verband is nie seker nie.

skryf (Schreiben) **xg'owae**, Na. **xóa.** 'n Schnalz gehoor; die waarde van die **-ae** is onseker.

slaap (schlafen) **vomm**, Na. //**òm.**

son (die Sonne) **Soeroe**, Na. **sóre-s.** Vrouwlike uitgang ontbreek. Let daarop dat "alle **oe** . . . nach Deutscher pronociation als ein **ö** ausgesprochen (werden)", volgens sy eie voetnoot.

sout (Salz) **Xo**, Na. ≠ **ò-b.** Uitgang ontbreek.

spoedig (bald) **susa**.

sterf (sterben) **xg'a**, wrsk. nie herleibaar tot Na. //**ò** nie, wel dieselfde as Knudsen 1845 "gam vir: doodmaak (Kanis 5). In **Itzeri**, "er ist gestorben oder hingegangen" is Na. /**heira**, om te sterf, nog verskuil, as ek dit wel het.

sterre (die Sterne) **Xgoro** oder **Tsgoro**, onverwant met Na. /**gamiros**, maar Barrow gee **kōro** aan vir Oostelike Hottentots, sodat dit wel die algemene term daar sou gewees het; of dit 'n besondere ster aandui, kon ek nie uitmaak nie. Von Winkelmann het dit blykbaar in die meer-voud bedoel (die Sterne), maar die vorm lyk nie daarna nie.

tand (ein Zahn) **xkung**, oder wie **t'kung**, pl. **t'kunga**, Na. //**gū-b.** Dic -ng verklank die nasaal van Nama. Dic -a is wrsk. die ou objeksuitgang.

tier (der Tiger) **koaeso**, Na. /**garú-b.** Nama het ook hier 'n ander stam bewaar as sowel ou Kaaps-Hottentots en Oostelike Hottentots aan die een kant en Korana aan die ander kant. Korana het **xoa-sao-b.** Die geslagspartikel ontbreek.

tong (die Zunge) **Tamm**. Met **nami** wyk Nama af van al die verwante dialektes.

twoe (Zweij) **xamm**, Na. /**gám.** Die velaar is blykbaar nie gehoor nie.

vader (der Vater) **Boo.** Dit is die gewoonste woord in ou Kaaps-Hottentots en is te beskou as 'n wisselvorm by Na. **abo-b**, Kora **aboo-b**; vir laasgenoemde kyk o.m. by Lichtenstein Archiv 307.

vier (Vier) **hakka**, Na. **hágá.**

vinger (der Finger) **n'x'n'äni**, pl. **n'xn'ani-ika**, waarmee vergelyk kan word Sparrman 1775-6 **t'naniqua**, Na. ≠ **óni**.

vlakte (eine Fläche) **xau**, Na. ≠ **gá-b.** Genusuitgang ontbreek.

vleis (Fleisch) **Xo**, Na. //**gan-s**; //**gani.** Nama sonder hom weer af van die ander dialektes. Vir die woord in Oostelike Hottentots gee Thunberg 1773 Kop, en Sparrman 1775-6 **t'Go** of **t'Goá.** Vir Kora is dit volgens Lichtenstein **t'koob.** Die uitgang ontbreek.

voël (der Vogel) **xgani**, Na. **aní-s**, voël, **ani-b**, haan. Al die ander bewaarde dialektes het 'n velêre anlaut behalwe

Nama. Vir Kora gee Engelbrecht aan **vanis**. Swellengrebel 1776 skryf oor "Canniga of Vogelrivier." **voet** (der Fuss) **vei**, Na. ≠ **éi-s**. Uitgang ontbreek. **vuur** (Feuer) **Xei**, Na. /**ái-s**. Uitgang ontbreek. **vyf** (fünf) **gisi**. Kyk Aantekening hieronder. **wa** (Wagens) **korohi**, wrsk. 'n woord aan Hollands krui-wagen ontleen, so by Godée Molsbergen en Wandres. Na. **guni-s**. **water** (Wasser) **Xgamma**, Na. //**gámi**. **weinig** (wenig) **xorae**, Na. /**orò**. **wolf** (der Wolf) **n'huka**, Na. ≠ **hira-s** of ≠ **nube-#hira-s**, gestreepte hiëna, maar vergelyk Kora **/hüga-b** by Engelbrecht. Uitgang ontbreek. **yster** (Eisen) **xori**, Na. /**uri-b**. Uitgang ontbreek.

Aantekening by telwoorde.

Die woord vir "vyf" is in die ou Kaapse dialek dieselfde as vir Nama (**góro**), bv. by Herbert 1626 **croe**, De Flacourt 1655 **coro**, Witsen 1691 **kro**, Grevenbroek 1695 **kouru**, ens., en "tien" is daar eweneens van diezelfde stam as in Nama (**disi**), behalwe dat dit met die wisselklank **g** of **gh** begin; die bogenoemde segspersone gee dit onderskeidelik: **gheshee**, **ghiszi**, **guissi**, **gissi**. Opmerklik nou is dit dat "vyf" in die Oostelike dialektes dieselfde wortel skyn te hé as "tien" elders. Sparrman 1775 gee vir "vyf" daar **t'gisi** (met 'n tongslag), Von Winkelmann 1788 **gisi** en Barrow 1797 **gosé**. Hoe die verband te lê is, kan ek nog nie bepaal nie.

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF URBAN COMMUNITIES

From:

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I see that Mrs Brandel¹ has used me, together with Professor Coetzee, as a rod with which to belabour Professor Vilakazi. Lest for my part Professor Vilakazi should be unfortunately impressed by my apparent rigidity, I feel I ought to amplify my views on the anthropological approach to the study of African urban communities.

Professor Vilakazi questions the distinction Mrs Brandel makes, in her paper on African marriage in urban areas, between *lobolo-as-such* and *lobolo-in-marriage*.² He then goes on to criticize what he considers to be a common view and which he says Mrs Brandel assumes in her paper; that 'the tribal African and the Westernized African are merely on opposite poles of the same continuum'.³ In her reply Mrs Brandel uses a statement I made at the Conference of Administrators of Non-European Affairs at Margate, Natal, in 1957, to support her

distinction between the separate processes of 'westernization' and 'urbanization'.

I made this distinction in order to bring home to administrators that in their work they had to face a situation which is more complicated possibly than in America or Europe because in African towns there are two kinds of changes going on, those that are common to people everywhere when they come to live in towns together with those peculiar to a people whose traditional way of life contains no appropriate 'definitions' of the new situations in which they are likely to find themselves. I went on to argue that a custom practised in a rural situation, when transferred to an urban one, may take on a new meaning for participants and observers alike, and that it is dangerous for planning purposes to assume that because an ostensibly tribal custom persists in an urban environment, the tribal social system as a whole continues to operate there. An administrators conference is not the place to elaborate anthropological theory and I did not go on to draw the logical conclusion from this: that urban social systems should be studied *sui generis* and that the origin of the elements in them from this point of view is irrelevant.

The concepts of 'westernization' and 'ur-

¹African Studies, 18, 1959, p. 83.

²Brandel, M., 'Urban Lobolo Attitudes,' African Studies, 17, 1958, 34-50, at p. 36.

³African Studies, 18, 1959, p. 82. Professor Vilakazi seems to assume that the concept of 'detribalization' is still widely used in the study of change and urbanization. In fact as early as 1938 anthropologists were questioning the validity of this concept as an analytical tool. See, for example, Fortes, M., 'Culture Contact as a Dynamic Process' in Mair, L. P. (ed.), *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, Memorandum XV of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1932. Nowadays few anthropologists make use of the concept. For a recent brief comment on the weakness of the approach through 'detribalization' see Gluckman, M., 'Tribalism in modern British Central Africa,' *Cahiers D'Etudes Africaines*. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. 1960, 55-70.

banization' are too vague and nebulous, I feel, to be used analytically. In addition, to try to understand urban communities in terms of them, or negatively from the point of view of 'detribalization', appears to me to place oneself in the same awkward position as the evolutionists and diffusionists in their studies of 'culture' a generation ago. One assumes that two abstract states exist: westernism and tribalism. These are configurations of customs, values and beliefs all inextricably interconnected. Since it is impossible to compare unique configurations with each other, one is driven to dissecting each into a number of component beliefs, customs and values and then to treating each of these as units of comparison. Thus *lobolo* in town becomes a custom quite divorced from the social system of which it is a part, and is compared with *lobolo* as it operates in a different context i.e. in the rural area. This is analogous with the way in which the evolutionists and diffusionists studied, say, totemism out of its social context in different societies. It is to this sort of atomization of 'culture' that the early functionalists objected and I think their strictures are still valid. Thus while I share Professor Vilakazi's misgivings about the utility for anthropology of conceiving 'westernism' and 'tribalism' as placed at opposite poles of a single continuum,⁴ it is not because I think that by doing so one ignores conflicting values held by people but rather because I feel that it obscures what I take to be the task of social anthropology: to achieve the sort of understanding of the operation of a social system which enables us eventually to make predictions about it.

I shall try to illustrate an approach which may perhaps bring us nearer to this ideal. Let us consider two apparently disparate points in Mrs Brandel's original paper. These are the distinction she makes between *lobolo-as-such* and *lobolo-in-marriage* on the one hand, and the fact that many African

brides marrying in town look upon the marriage payment as some sort of public assessment of their social worth on the other.⁵ We may start with the distinction which Mrs Bohannan makes in her analysis of Dahomean marriage between the different rights and duties involved in marriage.⁶ These she argues fall into two categories—the *genetrical* rights which are those which a man holds in his wife as the mother of his children and the *uxorial* rights which he holds in her as a wife. We may extend her argument and point out that the genetrical rights are those connected with the recruitment of members to corporately-acting kin-groups, so that a man holds these rights in his capacity as a representative of the kin-group to which he belongs. Social fatherhood is thus linked with genetrical rights since it refers to the alignment of children with the kinsmen of the individual who holds these rights. Natural fatherhood on the other hand implies a *personal* linking of the children to their genitors rather than a *structural* linking to their paters. Uxorial rights are those which the spouses hold in one another and these are necessarily held individually. They are not connected with the corporately-acting kin-group but rather with the network of personally-oriented kinship relationships which each person builds up around himself. In patrilineal tribal areas where corporate kin-groups are still viable, a *lobolo* transfers genetrical rights in a woman to her husband's corporate group and uxorial rights in her to him as one of its members. The distinction between *lobolo-in-marriage* and *lobolo-as-such* refers to these different sets of rights. The *lobolo-in-marriage* transfers both genetrical and uxorial rights, while *lobolo-as-such* apparently only uxorial rights.

How is this applied to urban areas? Mrs Brandel's material shows that natural fatherhood is becoming more important in urban areas while social fatherhood is de-

⁴I do not see on the other hand why this could not be made a working hypothesis in a social-psychological framework and tested empirically. A set of characteristics could probably be devised which would yield an acceptable Guttman scale and so serve to separate 'westernized' from 'tribalized' people by their response to these attitude items. We cannot say that it will not work until we have tried it out.

⁵Mrs Brandel's paper stimulated me to make some observations on this point in an article 'The Place of Women in African Advancement,' *Optima*, September, 1959.

⁶Bohannan, L., 'Dahomean Marriage: A Revaluation,' *Africa*, XIX, 1949.

clining. By distinguishing between the sets of rights involved in marriage we are able now to trace this trend to its roots. Under urban conditions, unilineal corporate kin-groups can hardly persist, but this does not mean that kinship ceases to operate. Instead a different aspect of kinship, the personally-centred network of relationships with kinsmen of all kinds comes to the fore. It is difficult for a corporate group to be organized on the basis of a kinship network, which of necessity must be traced bilaterally, because the network ramifies throughout the community and links people together who in other situations may be members of opposed groups. Thus, where corporately-acting kin-groups disappear and a tissue of kinship links takes their place, we expect the individual ties of children to their natural parents to become dominant. *Lobolo* in these circumstances loses its tribal function of giving genetrical rights to the husband's lineage; for corporate groups in towns are not organized on unilineal kinship principles. Instead *lobolo* assumes new meanings associated with the system of social relationships which have developed in towns.

Mrs Brandel's material shows that one new meaning which *lobolo* has acquired in the group with which she worked was that of an index of social prestige. In a heterogeneous and anonymous urban community there must be some simple methods of arranging people in broad categories so that social relationships with them may be rapidly fixed. One of these categories is in terms of the social prestige thus leading to the stratification of the community. The new meaning *lobolo* has acquired in towns therefore is related to one of the crucial determinants of social relationships in urban areas—social class.⁷

It may well be that *lobolo* in the tribal areas has also changed. I venture to predict however that where land and cattle rights are still significant the corporate group probably persists and the genetrical aspect of marriage is still important. But if *lobolo*

is different in rural areas we must relate the changes it has undergone to the social system of which it is a part and not to abstract and somewhat nebulous concepts such as 'Christianization' and 'westernization'.

I argue, thus, that we must approach the study of African behaviour in towns by recognizing that a series of external conditions set the framework within which urban Africans must interact. These are the external imperatives of the social system. Political and legal provisions, for example, limit behaviour by determining where Africans shall work and live, where they may own land, which occupations they shall follow and so on. Demographic features such as the disproportionately large number of young adult males in the urban areas, the instability of residence and perhaps more than anything else, the heterogeneity arising from the variety of tribal hinterlands from which the towns draw their populations, provide the limiting framework within which Africans must solve the problem of giving meaning to actions. These new meanings become embedded in custom and so ensure at least a minimum of regularity and hence predictability of behaviour.

It is true that some of these external imperatives are similar to those operating in American, Indian and European towns but it is not correct to argue from this that 'urbanization' in Africa is the same as in other countries. The total set of external imperatives is probably unique for each town and we must try to understand how people solve the problem of giving meaning to actions within the framework of the social situation in which they find themselves.

We take a tribal dance in a location and see it not as an expression of the arcadian values upon which tribal life is based but an expression of some of the significant evaluations in the social system in which the dancers and their spectators live. We see the operation of a diviner in an industrial town not so much as an expression of a number of beliefs about the magical pro-

⁷I have argued that marriage payments on the Copperbelt where most of the population is drawn from matrilineal peoples have acquired a new meaning in terms of the very instability of marriage, since the payments serve to provide a check to too easy separation. See 'Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia,' *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 22, 1957, 1-30, at pp. 24-25.

perties of substances but as a means whereby industrial workers are able to formulate the oppositions and tensions in which they are involved. We note that the African M.D. still pays *lobolo*; that the African candidate for a parliamentary election seeks a charm to ensure a majority of votes; that the newly-arrived immigrant from the country takes up 'rock and roll' and listens to the news from the 'Voice of America'. We must now seek to resolve these contradictions not by seeing them as mixtures of 'westernism' and 'tribalism' but rather by appreciating the pattern of behaviour in terms of the set of social relationships in which it is embedded.

In other words we must try to understand the behaviour of Africans in towns in terms of a particular social system which provides a set of norms and values against which urban Africans evaluate behaviour. Social anthropology in so far as it aims to be scientific deals with general human behaviour and beliefs in terms of the logically explicable relationships between them. I take the unit of study to be this related set of beliefs and patterns of behaviour. In tribal societies it is frequently possible to see the whole community in terms of one social system in which the major patterns of behaviour and belief can be related one to the other throughout the whole tribe. In towns, however, this is rarely feasible. We must therefore isolate a set of beliefs and patterns of behaviour which appear to be related and then reveal the logical nexus linking them. Since we establish the boundaries of the social system empirically, it will certainly exclude much behaviour and belief in towns. But this should be our starting point and we should build up from restricted empirical systems into larger systems as we are able to reveal the logical connection between the invariably related parts.

I doubt, therefore, if we need to work with the heuristic device of a total 'society' which is some sort of functional unit which can be designated 'western' or 'tribal'. All we need assume at present is that some aspects of human behaviour can be understood in terms of a social system and then

demonstrate how and in what way certain aspects of behaviour and beliefs are logically linked in such systems. At present I think it would be better to do without abstract terms such as 'westernization' and 'detribalization' and get down to finding out how the social system works, whether it is in town, tribal area or mission station.

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THE GROSVENOR EXPEDITION OF 1790-91

From:

PROFESSOR P. R. KIRBY
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In the review of my *Jacob van Reenen and the Grosvenor Expedition of 1790-1791* in the March, 1959, issue of *African Studies*, your reviewer draws attention to a serious error, namely my inadvertent reversal of the names of two rivers in Pondoland in my identification of them in my notes to the English translation of van Reenen's Journal. These two rivers both enter the sea a little to the north of Port St Johns; they are the Ntafufu and the Umzimhlava, and in the Journal they were named respectively the "Woeman Poevoe" and the "Tanwoeta". My mistake appears to me to be the more remarkable since not only do I know these two rivers very well, but they are shown in their correct positions on the map contained in my *A Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman* (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1953), and will likewise so appear in the comprehensive map which will illustrate my final and, I hope, definitive work on the famous Indiaman. I have thoroughly searched my files of notes for a possible source of my blunder, but can find no satisfactory explanation for it. It would therefore seem to have been due to some form of literary "gremlin", but in any case I must acknowledge it to be my responsibility, and gladly do so now.

But having "got this off my chest", I feel that I have the right to draw your reviewer's attention to several slips in his account of my book, which in their turn

may possibly mislead some of your and my readers.

In the first place it is stated in the review that "A document in the Gubbins Library, University of the Witwatersrand, he [i.e. the author] considers to be in van Reenen's hand, worked up from the Riversdale draft". But I said no such thing. What I endeavoured to demonstrate was that the *Riversdale manuscript* was "in the handwriting of Jacob van Reenen"; and that [p. 58] the Witwatersrand specimen was a copy made from the Riversdale draft. A small point, perhaps, yet from a bibliographical point of view a vital one.

Another detail, which may possibly worry linguists, is the rendering in the review of the name of the river "Umsikaba" as "Umsinkaba".

But the most serious misconception occurs in the discussion of the journey made by half-a-dozen members of the expedition—or rather four, for two of them only rode half-way to the wreck—on Monday, 15th November, 1790. Your reviewer wrote that "The waggons were left at the beginning of Waterfall Bluff and from there a party rode to the wreck in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours; but in that time they could not have got further than half way to the generally accepted site". Now while I admit that my translation of the words "na toe" as "to the spot" may possibly be misleading ("towards the spot" would undoubtedly have been better), a careful perusal of the whole entry for 15th November makes it quite clear that, after accompanying their companions for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours, van Reenen and Holtshausen, who were both sick men, turned back at the Mlambonkulu River (which is a little less than halfway to the wreck) while the other four went on for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours more. The entry distinctly states that: "The ship lay 4 hours from our outspan place" (i.e. at the Mkozi stream), and this estimate of the time is right.

The late Mr George Clarke of Lusikisiki, who was accustomed to ride all through Pondoland in the capacity of stock inspector, confirmed this to me; and two students of the University of the Witwatersrand, Messrs

Mulvenna and Raubenheimer, went on my behalf from the reputed site of the wreck to the Mkozi mouth on foot, and the only serious difficulty that they encountered was the deep gorge which the Mlambonkulu River cuts through Waterfall Bluff before it finally plunges over the cliff into the sea.

The problem posed by what van Reenen described as a two-hour journey of three of his companions along the coast to the north of the site I did not attempt to solve. I did, however, (in one of the 165 "infuriating" foot-notes to my English translation of the Journal) point out the difficulty to which your reviewer also draws attention. But I would here add that on the occasion on which the three men rode along the shore beyond the wreck Jacob van Reenen did not accompany them, so that his estimate of two hours was based upon hearsay, and not on personal experience. It is quite possible that he may have misunderstood his companions, who may have spent most of that time in searching for further relics of the wreck, and who may not have actually ridden very far along the coast.

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ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF CONGO LANGUAGES

From:

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B.P. 276
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On the occasion of republishing "Doke's Classification of Bantu Languages" in this journal, 18, 4, 1959, it seems legitimate to contribute a few loose corrections and additions regarding the Congo zone.

First one might question the limits between Zones 30 and 40. It does not appear on what grounds **Luba** (40/1) is separated from the **Kongo** group (30/1) and this language put in Zone 30.

As to Group 30/1 (**Kongo**), one would have difficulty in finding a good reason for considering as two different languages such closely related forms of speech as are the so-called **kiKongo** and **kaKongo**.

According to information privately ob-

tained from Kasai, **Kete** seems to be a somewhat aberrant **Luba** dialect. Another cluster must be added, to include such dialects as **Bindi-Mbagani** and **Salampasu** (cf. Fr G. Vancoillie: *Aequatoria*, X, 1947, p. 90).

As **Kele** (30/3/1) seems more related to **Mèngə** than to **Sə**, the classification could be amended on this point.

As far as I know no study has yet been published on **Sə** (30/3/2), the language of the **Gesə**, commonly named **Topoke** in the Congo. But judging from a few personal notes it might be classified together with **Olombo**. This latter language is not listed, although a good sketch was published by Rev. J. F. Carrington in *Aequatoria*, X, 3, 1947.¹

The term **Ngala** is confusing, as it covers the trade language propagated by European administration as well as the cluster of dialects spoken by various small tribes of fishermen established on the banks of the Congo River and on the lower course of its main affluents in the area north of the Equator. To these tribes belong the **Mabale** (30/4/4a), and also the **Pətə** (30/4/1), and even the **Səkə**, although these are less closely related.

The name **Soko** (properly **Səkə**) added in brackets to 30/3/2 as a synonym of **Sə**, is commonly known as the current name of a tribe of fishermen around a locality which bears their name **Basəkə** and was created in the earliest days of the Congo State at the mouth of the Aruwimi.

Bangi (30/4/5) belongs to that same cluster of river dialects. The relationship would appear very close if the various constituents were better known. Some of them are listed hereafter in full form, the prefix separated by a period: **E.ləku**, **Bo.lóki** (on which material is available in the books by Weeks and in translations, cf. my bibliography in *Congo*, 1937, II, p. 553), **I.bəkə** (described in Fr Cambier's *Essai sur la Langue Congolaise*, 1891, and on which Mgr

De Boeck's *Grammaire et Vocabulaire du Bangala*, 1904, is largely based), **Ba.lói**, **Mo.tembə**, **Lo.səngə**, etc.

At any rate **Dzing** (30/4/5a) is not a dialect of **Bangi** at all, as can easily be seen from the extensive volumes of Fr J. Mertens: *Les Badzing de la Kamtsha* (Inst. Roy. Col. B., Mor. Pol., IV, 1935-39). It is related to **Teke** (30/5). Although it refers to this basic work, Doke's classification is confusing on this point.

To this same cluster belong also the dialects of such tribes as (in full form) **Ba.ja**, **Ba.boma**, **A.ngul**, **A.lwer**, **A.mbuun** and **Ba.sa** or **Ba.sakata**. At least this last dialect ought to have been mentioned in this revised classification¹ on such authoritative and important work as Fr P. de Witte's *Taalstudie bij de Basakata* (Ann. Kon. Mus. B.K., Terv., Ling. 10, 1955), while Fr J. M. de Decker's *Les Clans Ambuun (Bambunda) d'après leur littérature orale* (I.R.C.B., Mor. Pol., XX, 1, 1950) contributes sufficient material for a classification in this cluster.

The name **Bayanzi** (see 30/4/5 in brackets) applies properly to a tribe of the Kwilu region (native pronunciation: **Ba.yaans**). Their dialect belongs to the **Dzing** cluster (cf. o.c. Mertens: *Grammaire*, p. X), and has nothing to do with **Bangi**.

Nor does **Buja** (30/4/4b—the native pronunciation is **Mbjujá**) belong to the **Ngala** cluster, as can be concluded from comparison on the basis of Fr L. Toulmond: "Essai de Grammaire d'Ebudja" in *Congo*, II, 1937. It is closely related to **Ngəombə**, among whose divisions it could be placed as well as **Dákə** and further eastern dialects (cf. my *Carte linguistique du Congo Belge*, I.R.C.B., Sc. Mor. Pol. XIX, 5, 1950).

About **Móngə** (30/4/3) it may be remarked that **Lolo** is not a good synonym, as it is simply a European misinterpretation of *lolo*=upriver (cf. A. De Rop: *Aequatoria*, XX, 1957, p. 136). It is preferable to drop this name altogether.

It is not clear why some dialects of this

¹The paper referred to in these notes, Desmond T. Cole: "Doke's Classification of Bantu Languages," *African Studies*, 18, 4, 1959, was explicitly *not* presented as a revised classification, but simply as a restatement of Doke's work of 1945, without any attempt to take account of new publications since that date. Nevertheless the comments and suggestions offered by Dr Hulstaert will be most useful to anyone embarking on a reclassification of the Bantu languages. [Ed.]

central Congo language have been listed with exclusion of various other ones. Nor does it appear from where comes the information concerning **Sengèle**—possibly from Johnston's *Comparative Study* (1919), but this treats more dialects of **Məngə** which are not listed. No linguistic material seems to have been published on **Bolia**, although personal researches indicate that it should be put in the **Məngə** group near **Ntomb'a-njale** and **Ekonda**. The mention of **Kela** may be based on Torday and Joyce: *Populations du Kasai*, 1922.

Besides the **Lontomba** described by Fr Gilliard, another dialect called by the same name (there are several tribes named **Ntombá** among the **Məngə**) is spoken near Lake Tumba. It is a kind of intermediary between **Lo.londa** and **Bangi**. The cyclo-styled *Suggestions for a Lontomba Grammar* (which I have not seen) probably concern this language, the grammar of which has been contributed by me in *Kongo-Overzee*, V, 1939, while a more extensive description (grammar and vocabulary) by M. Mamet recently appeared in Ann. Mus. C.B., Ling. 11, 1955. The A.F.B.M.S. contributed several translations of parts of the Bible and a few text books (cf. my bibliography in *Congo*, 1937, II, p. 548 and A. De Rop's *Bibliografie over de Mongo* in A.R.S.C., Mor. Pol., VIII; 2, 1956, p. 89-90).

Among other **Məngə** dialects on which material has been published are **Lo.konda**, the dialect of the **E.konda** to the north of Lake Leopold II (a small grammar by Fr J. De Boeck in *Aequatoria*, II, 9, 1939, and several religious and other text books, cf. the quoted bibliographies); and the **Lo.yela** spoken by the **Bo.yela**, who inhabit the countries on Upper Lomela and Upper Tshuapa, where they touch the **Jəngə**, the **Bahamba** and **Atetela**, who call them **Akəla**; a grammatical sketch by me appeared in *Aequatoria*, IV and V, 1941-42.

More remotely related to the Western **Məngə** dialect is **Lo.ngandó** of Upper Lopori and Maringa, stretching southward to the **Bahamba** between both parts of the **Boyela** and east of the **Bosaka**. *Notes on the Grammar* were given by Rev. E.

Walling in 1937 (see also De Rop's *Bibliografie*, p. 86-87).

On the language of the Pygmyd **Batswa**—living in symbiosis with the **Nkundo** between Coquilhatville, Lake Tumba, Lake Leopold II, the **Salonga** and the **Ikelemba**—two small contributions have been made by Fr R. Picavet (*Aequatoria*, X, 1947, No. 4, p. 137) and by myself (*Africa*, XVIII, 1948, No. 1, p. 21).

At the time of Doke's work (p. 27) the exact relationship between **Kuba**, **Tetela** and **Kela** were not yet clearly defined. However the linguistic contributions mentioned there give good indications as to the differences between those languages, especially between the first and the two last named.

Since then more information has been gained and it is now beyond doubt that the language of the **Bu.shong** (=Kuba) together with that of **Bashi.lele**, **Bawongo** is closely related to the **Kwa-Kwango** group (30/5) of **Teke-Dzing-Sakata**, as is proved by Fr J. Daeleman in a yet unpublished study (see J. Vansina, *Aequatoria*, XXI, 1958, p. 4, and *Esquisse de Grammaire Bushong* in Ann. Mus. C.B., Terv., Ling. 23, 1959).

On the other hand, **Tetela** belongs to the **Məngə** (30/4/3), of which it is a rather aberrant form, so that several people prefer to consider it as a really distinct language. Besides the two articles quoted by Doke, more material is now available in Mgr J. Hagendoren's *Dictionnaire Français-Otetela*, 1943, and J. Jacob's *Tetela-Teksten* (Ann. Mus. B.K., Terv., Ling. 20, 1959).

Nor can the position of **Kela** be doubted any longer. It is one of the numerous dialects of **Məngə**, rather closely related to the north-western dialect described in most of the works treating of **Məngə** or **Nkundo**, especially those mentioned by Doke (p. 25 and 26).

About the transcription of the names of the languages I would like to add that it is not **Nkundu** but **Nkundo**.

The prefixes are omitted in this list according to a practice which is spreading rapidly. But this has not been done consistently. So in some of the languages which

are better known to me, the prefix is not dropped (I describe them separating prefix from stem): **Bo.lia**, **Bu.shong** (without final **o**), **Ma.bale**, **Le.beo**, **Lo.kele**.

* * *

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In the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Institute of Social and Economic Research of Rhodes University is to be found an impressive list of completed, current and projected research. The Border Regional Survey, which was the Institute's first major project, is drawing to a close, and volumes dealing with economic development, the Xhosa in town (two books) and urban African education are due to appear in 1960. Publications on farm labour and on housing conditions of various population groups in some of the smaller urban settlements in the area covered by the Institute have already appeared. Border Regional Survey volumes on environment and land

use, the "Red" Xhosa, the social ecology of Europeans in East London and the third part of the study of the Xhosa in town are in the course of preparation; and research is proceeding on rural African education, Xhosa systems of morality, African Christians and their churches, the economics of the pineapple industry and a survey of industry in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage industrial region. Future plans include the mapping of the industrial regions of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage and the publication of Dr W. D. Hammond-Tooke's study of the Bhaca of Mount Frere. Should finances and research personnel be available, the Institute will consider the preparation of a Xhosa-English dictionary and a source book of South African native law. Hitherto the Institute has been supported by the National Council for Social Research, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Nuffield Foundation, the Council of Rhodes University, the South African Institute of Race Relations and a few local commercial firms.

M.G.M.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The Editorial Committee gratefully acknowledges receipt of the publications listed below, during the period December 16, 1959, to June 30, 1960. Reviews are published as circumstances permit, but no undertaking can be given that every book received will be reviewed in *African Studies*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Primitive Man as Philosopher. PAUL RADIN. Dover Publications, Inc., New York. 1957. xviii + 402 pp. \$2.00.

Those who have had anything to do with "the languages of primitive peoples" are only too familiar with the approach of the pioneer missionary grammarians who, knowing no approach to grammar but the classical one, almost without exception found the "native" languages "wanting" in various respects. One is reminded particularly of the notorious "comparative paucity of true adjectives in the Bantu languages", and of "the various

mechanisms employed (by the native speakers) to make up this deficiency." In the study of oral traditional literature too, many a missionary grammarian has "looked in vain for true poetic form, feeling and expression, and for any evidence of the natives' love of nature for its own sake." This ethnocentric approach to the cultures of "primitive peoples" has of recent years been subjected to severe criticism in linguistic science, and the approach now acceptable to modern linguists is summed up in Leonard Bloomfield's dictum, "The student of an entirely

'new language will have to throw off his pre-possessions about language, and start with a clean slate.' This approach has proved beneficial to linguistic science, not only because of the rich fields of exploration it opens up in the study of languages hitherto unknown, but also because it brings a new, scientific insight and understanding to the structure of the better-known languages of the world themselves, including the Indo-European.

The extension of this approach to other disciplines in the study of primitive peoples is bound to bring rich profits. It is with such an attitude, with such "a clean slate", and with a view to such profits to his own discipline, that Paul Radin sets out to investigate whether or not primitive man is capable of philosophical formulation. "If it can be shown," he says, "that the thinkers among primitive peoples envisage life in philosophical terms, that human experience and the world around them have become subjects for reflection, that these ponderings and searchings have become embodied in literature and ritual, then obviously our customary treatment of cultural history, not to mention that of philosophical speculation, must be completely revised."

Primitive man as Philosopher is a compelling defence of the polemic that "in temperament and in capacity for logical and symbolical thought, there is no difference between civilized and primitive man." It is the more attractive because Dr Radin's basic thesis has been arduously arrived at, "slowly forced upon me," he says, "from my observations and contact with a number of aboriginal tribes." The description of primitive cultures from the point of view of their thinkers is his object. This, as Dr Radin fully admits, is a restricted and perilous undertaking, since the intelligentsia of a primitive people is never, as among civilized people, an element clearly separable from the life of its society.

The book is divided into two sections: the first describing the social environment of the philosopher in primitive society, the second demonstrating the philosopher's advance ahead of the accepted ideas of his

society. (To the South African reader, the latter section calls to mind such legendary figures as Mohlomi of Basutoland, and Ntsikana and Makhanda of Xhosaland.) We are offered a rich selection of poems, proverbs, anecdotes and myths from Africa, America, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, Sumatra, etc., for Dr Radin chooses to leave the people to speak for themselves, adding his own comments only where necessary; moreover, his conviction is such that he believes "the ignorance, incredulity, and prejudice still prevalent even among otherwise well-informed laymen on the whole subject of primitive culture" will be most effectively dispelled by the unadorned presentation of their thought, what he calls "proof". While prepared to excuse laymen and even some ill-informed scholars for questioning the adequacy of aboriginal languages to express philosophical ideas, Dr Radin cannot forgive specialists for falling into this error. "That a linguist of the distinction of Diedrich Westermann should do so is incomprehensible. Perhaps, however, it is no stranger than the claim once made for the superiority of Latin and Greek over all other languages."

This writer first sets out to explode the hoary assumptions of too many ethnologists and sociologists that primitive man is held in bondage not only by superstition and magic, but by an organic group-tyranny which forbids any freedom of expression of individuality. But what is it that for primitive man constitutes social reality? He sees the group as an entity quite separate from the individual, existing for him as a kind of perpetual audience, the necessary instrument by which he tests and measures his prowess. "Primitive man's thirst for prestige is fully acknowledged in the oral lore of illiterate societies. It is shamelessly egoistic, as in this song of the Ewe of West Africa:

"On the day of my death
Let it rain in torrents;
Let everyone become aware
That a great man has passed."

His undertaking is very often an individual enterprise. The frequency of single combat, vendettas, and competitions requiring excessive fortitude or skill are all charac-

teristic of primitive life, and bear out Dr Radin's argument that the free expression of individuality, far from being rendered impossible by the coercion of the group, is indeed a convention of primitive society.

Another common error of ethnologists—that primitive peoples believe death to be unnatural and caused by some miscreant—is also annihilated by the contents of Dr Radin's anthology: "O cease your plaint, mother of an only child!" goes a song of the Ewe,

"For when did an only child
Receive the gift of immortality?"

The Ronga of Southern Africa have a cry, "O how it smites us full in the face, Death! O how completely does it crush us, O what pain!"

Has the poet of the "civilized" world given us so briefly a more poignant and accurate summing-up of the impact of death?

In the chapter, "Men and Women", "primitive man's" emotional range, in its many differing kinds and qualities, is beautifully exemplified.

The deserted Tonga (Polynesian) husband weeps:

"The moon sinking into the western shades is the image of the husband,
The image of Moanarai at the moment.
As a great cloud obscuring the sky is
his grief,
The grief of the husband mourning for
his estranged wife,
And like the sky darkened by its rising
is my distress for her."

But the practical Ikungen (British Columbia) woman sings:

"I had a dream last night:
I dreamt my husband took a second wife;
So I took my little basket and I said
before I left,
'There are plenty of men.'
Thus I dreamt."

The distressed Batak (Sumatra) mother sings:

"My little offspring desires to leave me,
To leave me, one born out of time,

Me, who resemble an oft-fired earthen pot . . .

I am thrown in all directions like a lid
When I recall to my mind your lips
That could not yet frame answers
To its mother's words . . .

I would drown myself if you died . . ."

The Maori widower bemoans the loss of his wife:

"The priest no meet incantation made
No sacred water laved
In offerings propitiatory for thee.

Not so in ancient times thy ancestors
would act—

But now I moan thy loss of power,
The impotence displayed by Ka-hae,
The ignorance now shown in all the
world.

Farewell — farewell forever — yes,
farewell."

Proverbs and aphorisms are presented to us here with great variety in depth and beauty of expression, from the common-sense Ila, "O man, don't try to teach your mother, try others," and the harsh truth of the Ganda, "The despised person is ever present", to the poignant warning of the Masai, "Don't make a cloth for carrying a child in until the child is born", the gentle Samoan, "Blessed is the moon that goes and comes again", the Hawaiian admonition, "Not all knowledge is contained in your dancing school", and the bitter Maori comment on the life of man, "O slave of two growths, shooting up, sinking down!"

Dr Radin divides primitive society (precisely as "ours" is divided) into two groups—the men of action and the thinkers. These two live side by side, often maintaining radically differing viewpoints in many domains. The sun, for example, is, among the Winnebago Indians, regarded by the man of action as constituting many distinct entities which are for the thinker aspects of one and the same thing. Again, among the Dakota Indians, what the man of action regards as eight separate deities, the priest (i.e. the thinker) regards as aspects of the same deity. It is from here that the writer abundantly demonstrates the ability of primitive man to think in abstract terms.

The thinkers, the intelligentsia of primitive societies are the priests and medicine-men, the poets—the men who are wont to indulge in speculation for its own sake, who analyse, systematize, formulate and extend ideas. Far from being intimidated by superstition and magic, the thinker is patently capable of challenging, openly criticizing or wholly rejecting an idea generally cherished in his society. Dr Radin gives us excellent material in evidence of this in his chapter on the attempts of the thinkers of primitive societies to define the nature and attributes of God, providing a wide selection of epithets for God taken from the Batak, the Maori, and the Ila.

For the Batak, God is the judge:

"However great be your desire to cheat me,
God, our grandfather, is there to exercise compassion."

For the Maori, God's chief attribute is omnipotence: "He has no parents; no mother, no elder or younger brothers or sisters. *He is nothing but himself.*" (This is closely comparable to the Hebrew God of the Pentateuch: "I am that I am . . . Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: *I am* hath sent me unto you.") "He is the source of all thought . . . all knowledge . . . All things are gathered together in his eyes." For the Ila, God is on the one hand the compassionate and generous creator, on the other, "he who besets anyone or persecutes with unremitting attentions" (comparable to the Olympian gods: Apollo convinces Orestes that it is his sacred duty to avenge his murdered father, Agamemnon, by killing Aegisthus and Clytemnestra; but once this duty has been accomplished, Apollo eaves Orestes to the mercy of the Furies).

"What differentiates us from primitive man is the written word and the technique of thinking elaborated on its basis . . . Nothing seems to have escaped the discriminating and discerning insight of the native philosopher and sage." Dr Radin brings an exceptionally clear, honest and open mind, backed by profound observation and scholarship, to prove his point, and he comes to his subject with respect. His anthology and

commentary constitute a very formidable defence of his thesis.

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Leer Self Xhosa. J. C. OOSTHUYSEN, Jr.
Juta and Co. Ltd., Cape Town. 1958.
116 pp. 9s. 6d.

The author describes this book as "an introduction . . . to the speaking, reading and writing of Xhosa". It therefore does not pretend to give a full account of Xhosa grammar. On the other hand it is not slanted towards "Household Xhosa" or anything of that sort. It is a graded grammar designed to lead the student step by step towards a knowledge of the simple language at its best, and in this the author succeeds very well. I can certainly recommend this book.

The beginner's bugbear, "grammar", is quite rightly kept to the background. It is simply taken for granted that there are nouns and pronouns, verbs and adverbs, relative clauses, etc., in Xhosa as in Afrikaans, and they are introduced from the simple to the complex in a way that is least likely to give the beginner grammatical indigestion.

Lesson 1 concerns the sounds of the language, except for the clicks which are left until later. Lesson 2 gives the student some nouns (Noun Class 1 only), some verbs and some adverbs, a few lines on word order and a few lines on the subject concords that relate the verbs to these nouns, and he is ready to construct simple sentences. One of the difficulties in teaching Xhosa is that the simple present tense with its two forms, the long and the short, with which object concords may or may not be used in different types of sentence, is the first thing to be taught, and yet the correct use of this tense requires a thorough knowledge of the language. Mr Oosthuysen deals with this difficulty in Lesson 3 by saying that, "Although there are exceptions, which mostly depend upon feeling (*gevoelswaarde*), the only safe way for the student is to follow the following rule: When an object or ad-

verb follows the verb, we use the short form; but when nothing follows the verb, we use the long form". In Lesson 10 he introduces the object concords, and here he says that "the object concord is *especially* used when reference is made to an object already known", and that "(it) is *usually* used in the long form (of the present tense) of the verb". A multitude of loopholes lie behind these two words "*especially*" and "*usually*" (my italics), but simplification is necessary on this point at this stage, and this simplification is as good as any other.

In Lesson 5 the Noun Class system is explained, and from Lesson 5 to Lesson 13 the eight noun classes are introduced one by one, together with some other point of grammar, e.g. object concords, negative present tense, the use of *na-*, etc. At this stage the author writes, "We have now completed the treatment of the different classes of nouns with their different prefixes and subject and object concords. Seeing that the nouns and their concords are very important, it is strongly to be advised that you first make sure of them before you go on with the following lessons".

In a graded grammar such as this there are bound to be differences of opinion as to what order to follow and as to what detail to go into. For instance, I would deal with the roots *-nke/-onke* and *-dwa/-odwa* together with the absolute pronoun root *-na/-ona*, as these three roots share the same concord, but Mr Oosthuysen chooses to deal with the absolute pronoun in Lesson 13 and the other two roots in Lesson 32, where they could hardly be further separated. And I consider that the verbal derivatives, those most important verb-endings, *-ela*, *-isa*, *-ana*, etc., require more detailed treatment than the two or three lines that Mr Oosthuysen gives each of them. Furthermore I do think that palatalization should be explained. Conciseness is essential, I fully realize, but it takes only a few lines to state the incompatibility of bilabial consonants with "*w*". It is not enough to give a few examples of palatalized locatives of nouns and passives of verbs as "exceptions", when the language is so full of these "exceptions".

Again there are bound to be differences of opinion as to grammatical description. For instance, I disagree with the identification of the verbal auxiliary *-be* used in the formation of compound tenses, with the copula verb *-ba* used in the formation of copulative constructions. However, I am finding fault in a book that is generally to be praised. The possessive construction is very neatly dealt with, as also the Consecutive (Oopen-volgende) and Simultaneous (Gelyktydige) moods of the verb. I particularly like the way in which the author introduces the student to the copulative construction, in such a way that he is unaware of the hazardous hurdle he is taking so easily. The predicative use of adjective stems is introduced as early as Lesson 4 (*Abelungu bamhlophe*—Europeans are white), so that by the time the more complicated constructions are introduced, the student sees nothing strange in the use of verbal concords with nouns (Lesson 22) and adverbs (Lesson 23), (*Andingumntwana, ndiyindoda*—I am not a child, I am a man; *Ndinienja, kodwa andinayo ikati*—I have a dog, but I haven't a cat).

Furthermore I approve of the treatment of adjectives as relative constructions, the relative element (woorddeeltjie) "*a*" being prefixed to the adjective stem used predicatively, e.g. *umthi ubomvu* (the tree is red) and *umthi a-ubomvu > umthi obomvu* (the red tree), *ilitye a-libomvu > ilitye elibomvu* (the red stone). This is the type of adjective described by Mr Oosthuysen as "adjectives without nasals in the concords" (Doke's "relatives") as distinct from "adjectives with nasals in the concords" (Doke's "adjectives"), which he introduces six lessons later. These are more difficult to describe, for when used predicatively in the independent present positive tense they use a special concord without the subject concord (*umthi mde*—the tree is tall), although in the dependent present positive tense (*umthi umde*) and in the independent and dependent present negative tenses (*umthi awumde* and *umthi ungemde*) and in all other tenses, they use the subject concords as well. (The use of the terms "independent" and "dependent" in this sense is my own.) Mr Oosthuysen

avoids these descriptive difficulties by dealing only with present tense relative constructions in which the relative element is prefixed to the adjective stem used predicatively in the independent present positive tense (*umthi a-(u)mde >omde, imithi a-(i)mide >emide*—tall tree, tall trees).

At the end of every lesson there is an exercise consisting of sensible sentences (which is not always the case in books of this type), the key to which is in the appendix. There is no vocabulary, which may be a good thing, as the student is forced to learn and remember the words as he goes along instead of relying on a vocabulary too easily at hand.

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siaatverhandeling aan die Leuvense Universiteit ingedien. Hierin word die verskillende woordkunsforme van die Nkundo sistematies georden en volgens vorm, inhoud en funksie bespreek. In 'n inleiding word enkele probleme i.v.m. die studie van gesproke woordkuns toegelig en bespreek. Die eerste vyf hoofstukke word gewy aan gesproke woordkuns in gebonde styl, die epos, toneel, liriek en mites. Hierop volg 'n aantal hoofstukke oor die gesproke woordkuns in godsdienstuitinge, in die magie, in die regspleging en in spreekwoorde en *nsáko*. Die laaste hoofstukke handel oor geskiedkundige verhale, fabels met 'n sedeles, fabels oor die Nkundo-maatskappy, die 'waarom'-verhaal, boemanfabels en dieresprokies. Elke hoofstuk is voorsien van goed gekose voorbeeld wat tonologies geskrywe is en waarvan vertalings gegee word.

Die werk bevat verskeie prikkelende gedagtes en terme wat, hoewel nie altyd nuut nie, nogtans bydra tot 'n versuiwering van die studie van woordkuns. So is dit bv. opvallend dat die terme 'letterkunde' en 'literatuur' geen plek in die skrywer se benadering vind nie. Baie skrywers behandel die tradisionele woordkuns van die inheemse volke van Afrika as 'tradisionele letterkunde' of 'ongeskrewe letterkunde' ('traditional literature') in weerwil van die feit dat hierdie terme die geskrewe woord impliseer en dus nie inpas by die studie van prinsipiële ongeskrewe woordkunsuitinge nie. In De Rop se terminologie dek die term 'woordkunst' alle vorme van woordkunstige uitinge, d.w.s. sowel die individuele skepping wat gewoonlik in geskrewe vorm verskyn as die gemeenskaplike skepping wat meesal ongeskrewe is.

Hieruit volg nou 'n natuurlike onderverdeling in 'geskrewe woordkuns' en 'gesproke woordkuns'. Eg. het betrekking op die skeppings van die individu wat in die geskrewe woord uiting vind en lg. op die skeppings van die gemeenskap wat in die reël in mondeline vorm bestaan en voortgedra word. Hoewel hierdie terme beslis beter is as die teenstelling 'moderne letterkunde : tradisionele letterkunde' wat ook gebruik word, tref dit m.i. nog nie heelte-

De Gesproken Woordkunst van de Nkundo. A. DE ROP, M.S.C. Annalen van het Koninklijk Museum van Belgisch-Congo, Reeks in 8°, Wetenschappen van de Mens, Linguistiek, Deel 13. Tervuren, 1956. 272 pp.

Lianja-Verhalen, I, *ɛkəfə*-versie. PAUL NGOI & E. BOELAERT, M.S.C. Selfde reeks, Deel 17. 1957. 244 pp.

By die deurlees van hierdie twee werke tref dit die leser dat die Belgiese Bantoe-taalkundiges hulle Suid-Afrikaanse kollegas nie net op die gebied van die tonologie vooruitgeeloop het nie, maar ook in die ondersoek van die tradisionele woordkuns terreine betree het wat in Suid-Afrika nog grootliks onontgonne gelaat is. Skrywers soos Boelaert, Hulstaert, Stappers, van Bulck, van Goethem, Vertenten en verskeie andere het reeds in boeke en tydskrifartikels waardevolle materiaal oor die woordkuns van die Kongo-inboorlinge—veral van die Luba en die Mongo—opgeteken en ook belangrike studies gelewer oor die wetenskaplike benadering van inheemse woordkunsforme. Die werke onder bespreking is tipiese voorbeeld van navorsing wat op dié gebied gedoen word.

De Rop se werk is oorspronklik as lis-

mal die doel nie. Aangesien individuele skeppings dikwels ongeskrewe bly en gemeenskaplike skeppings skriftelik opgeteken kan word, is dit miskien beter om van 'individuele: gemeenskaplike woordkuns' of 'persoonlike: volkswoordkuns' te praat, soos die onderskeid inderdaad per definisie in die skrywer se betoog teenwoordig is.

Prikkelend is die skrywer se oplossing van die terminologiese probleem 'prosa: poësie'. Dit is duidelik dat daar twee belangrike styltipies in die gesproke woordkuns van die Bantoe voorkom wat vergelykbaar is met die prosa en die poësie van die Europese letterkunde. Nogtans pas hierdie terme nie gerieflik in studies van die inheemse woordkuns nie, aangesien die Bantoe-vers weens die eiesortige aanwending van die suprasegmentele klankelemente in hierdie tale, nie dieselfde eienskappe ontwikkel het as die Europese poësie nie. De Rop gebruik hier die gelukkige terminologiese opposisie 'woordkuns in ongebonde (losse) styl: woordkuns in gebonde (ritmiese) styl'. Sy uiteensetting van die kenmerke van ritmiese gesproke Nkundo-woordkuns, gebaseer op Boelaert se ondersoek, lig hierdie punt verder toe.

Daar moet ook melding gemaak word van die wyse waarop hy onderskei tussen woordkuns en musiek. Die lied of die gesang word dikwels by beskrywings van die woordkuns ingesluit asof die twee nie geskei kan word nie. De Rop wys daarop dat dit nie die lied as sodanig is wat vir die woordkuns van belang is nie, maar slegs die woorde daarvan, net soos die melodie alleen weer van belang is vir die musikoloog. Die skrywer behandel ook die verskillende maatstawwe wat by die indeling van gesproke woordkuns kan geld, nl. die vormlike, die inhoudelike en die funksionele. Hy besluit dan op 'n indeling wat op vorm en inhoud berus. Hoewel hy sy besluit voldoende toelig, sou dit tog interessant wees om 'n meer radikale prinsipiële verantwoording van sy benadering te vind.

Die bekende Lianja-epos van die Mongo was reeds die onderwerp van verskeie publikasies, w.o. ook twee deur Boelaert.¹ Die

verhaal handel oor die vroeë geskiedenis van die Mongo, soos gesentreer om die half-legendariese figuur van Lianja. Dit kom voor in die vorm van mondelinge oorlewinge onder die meeste Mongo van Sentraal-Kongo, w.o. bv. die Nkundo, Mongo, Boyela, Ekota en Ekonda. Soos onder dié omstandighede te wagte kan wees, is daar verskeie variante van die verhaal wat dan ook soms opvallende verskille t.o.v. inhoud en chronologie vertoon. Sekere kernfeite en gesange word in al die variante gevind, maar dáárom is verskeie gebeurtenisse, heldedade en episodes uit die vroeë geskiedenis verweef wat van variant tot variant verskil. Boelaert het dit tereg in 'n vroeër publikasie 'n verhaal sonder 'n begin en sonder 'n end genoem. Die optekening van sulke variante is nie alleen van historiese belang nie, maar het ook vir die volkekundige veel waarde, aangesien daar benewens gegewens i.s. die groot Mongo-volksverhuisings ook verskeie gegewens i.v.m. tradisies en gewoontes voorkom.

Ngoi en Boelaert se werk bestaan uit die teks van 'n variant wat opgeteken is in die omgewing van Bokala. Dit is gedikteerdeur Antoine Ekofo aan 'n half-geletterde jongman wat die teks aan Boelaert oorhandig het. Paul Ngoi het die taak op hom geneem om die moeilik leesbare manuskrip te ontsyfer, taalkundig te redigeer, die teks van toontekens te voorsien en die inhoud in hofies te rangskik. Boelaert het die Nederlandse vertaling versorg wat op die teenbladsye van die teks verskyn. Die vertaling skyn redelik direk te wees sodat die leser dit kan gebruik as gids vir 'n taalkundige studie van die teks, maar darem nie so letterlik dat dit self ongemaklik lees nie. Vir die grootste gedeelte verklaar die vertaling die inhoud van die teks, maar die persoon wat nie ingewy is in die geografie en plante- en dierelewte van die Kongo nie, mis tog soms 'n enkele verklarende voetnoot.

Om saam te vat: Hierdie publikasies lever onderskeidelik bewys van die studie van inheemse woordkuns en van die noukeurige optekening van teksmateriaal deur twee kenners van Mongo, wat ons kennis

¹"Nsong'a Lianja" (Congo, 1934) en "Nsong'a Lianja, l'épopée nationale des Nkundó" (Aequatoria, 1949).

van die taal- en volkekunde van Belgiese-Kongo nog meer verryk.

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Tetela-Teksen. J. JACOBS. Annalen van het Koninklijk Museum van Belgisch-Congo, Linguistiek, Deel 20. Tervuren, 1959.

Hierdie versameling tekste word voorafgegaan deur 'n kort Inleiding waarin die Tetela-gebied omskryf en die spelling en uitspraak kortlik behandel word. Tetela behoort tot die Mongo-tale van die sentrale kom van die Kongo en word selfs as skooltaal gebruik.

'n Uiters interessante en nuttige bespreking van die vokaalfoneme en daarmee gepaardgaande vokaallengte wat 'n belangrike rol in die taal speel, word gegee. Ook vokaal- en toonelisie. Hoewel die konsonantfoneme van die taal taamlik eenvoudig is, kom die interessante verskynsel van lang konsonante voor. Toon word ook deurgaans aangegee hoewel nie verder behandel nie.

Die teksgedeelte van die boek bestaan uit die oorspronklike Tetela-tekste met toon- en lengte-aanduidings en 'n Nederlandse vertaling op die teenblad. Daar word vyftien volksverhale aangebied. Interessant is dat die verhale soos ook elders meermale verskillende verhale oor dieselfde hooffiguur is. Sommige verhale is ook 'n vermenging van die dier- en mensverhaal. Die Nederlandse vertaling is 'n goeie weergawe van die oorspronklike. (Om Afrika in 'n Europese taal weer te gee bly in ieder geval maar 'n lastige taak.) Verklarings en vertalings van die name van die karakters word in voetnote aangegee. Die Engelse en Franse opsomming aan die einde deel kortlik mee waaronder die boek gaan en hoe die tekste versamel is.

Die heer Jacobs word gelukgewens met sy versameling volksverhale wat 'n wesenlike bydrae lewer tot die gepubliceerde folklore van Afrika. Deur 'n Nederlandse vertaling word dit ook aan 'n groter publiek beskikbaar gestel.

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Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy: a Study of the Mambwe People of Northern Rhodesia. WILLIAM WATSON. Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 1958. xxiii + 246 pp., Foreword by Max Gluckman. 30s.

The field-work on which Dr Watson bases his book was carried out mainly from July, 1952, to October, 1953. He found the Mambwe during those months to be in a "suspicious and unco-operative mood" toward Europeans because of plans to start the Central African Federation then afoot. He tells us this adversely affected his own field inquiries only insofar as the collection of numerical economic data was concerned. It is true that his samples in this field were small. But from any general sociological point of view, economic data require quantitative presentation to no greater (and no less) an extent than do details of political structure, for example. Also, this book records many more aspects of Mambwe society than only its money economy.

Dr Watson confined his studies to the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia. His interests were focused primarily on the Mambwe village, which he regards as "the traditional unit for residence and production and therefore . . . the basis of polity". He notes the change in village character enabled by the cessation, under *pax Britannica*, of practically perpetual Bemba-Mambwe hostilities. That is the picture of historical Bemba-Mambwe relations asserted. One would have appreciated far greater evidence for this alleged endemic state of war, than is available in this book, in comparison for example with discussion of 'intra-tribal' violence connected with domestic slavery.

Similarly, the statement that before the 1890's the number of Mambwe villages equalled exactly that of Mambwe chiefs requires more substantiation than is provided, particularly because the author argues that Mambwe chieftainship is immigrant. Without this further data it is difficult to agree finally that "each Mambwe village was a separate state, containing within itself a complete array of political, administrative,

judicial, military and ritual officials" (pp. 74 and 159). I could find no statement for example on whether the Mambwe patrilineally-transmitted clans are exogamous or not, and on Mambwe clan-area relationships, yet these might well be relevant considerations. One presumes Mambwe clans are exogamous, and therefore that, in the description (p. 110) about a woman confining her work to "the fields of her husband's male relative, so that she worked only for her clansmen," the second 'her' is a misprint for 'his'. One presumes this partly from Watson's report of a Mambwe joking clan marriage preference. This is very highly correlated in Northern Rhodesia with clan exogamy.

Since the 1890's the village has ceased being a microcosm of Mambwe society, it is clear. Thus again it is to be emphasised that the focus of interest of the book under review is not a politico-administrative unit such as a chiefdom. There are now many more villages than there are chiefs, of various kinds. Moreover, the headmen in many present-day Mambwe villages are not from the so-called Mambwe royal clan. Here Dr Watson mentions a most interesting aspect of the continuity of certain customary values in the face of modern conditions, which is perhaps unique in Northern Rhodesia. If commoner village headmen "do not establish firm ties with the (royal) chiefs, their successors are in danger of losing their gains, for the chiefs claim the right to appoint their sons even to the headmanships of villages founded by commoners. The chiefs often exercise this right" (p. 83).

Various details of Mambwe political and administrative organisation are given, many of which reveal ways in which a system of indirect rule may considerably change the pre-existing polity into one with new units, new positions, different responsibilities, and new, or newly grounded, hierarchies. The chapter on Mambwe internal politics gives a certain amount of detail on the traditional Mambwe political system, including the way in which heir and predecessor may be identified in positional succession. In Watson's phrase, "the whole system of titles and

estates forms the enduring tribal structure through which the transient generations pass" (p. 152).

This reference to estates, village estates, needs comment. Watson argues that the Mambwe village headman "is solely responsible for allocating the village land among his people. He must approve the specific strips of land that a man wishes to cultivate. When a man leaves the village, or when a man dies and his heir refuses to come and live in the village, the land reverts to the headman. He can then allocate it as he thinks best" (pp. 97-8). If this is indicative of traditional practice, then it cannot be overstressed that this is exceptional in Northern Rhodesia. And this gives a special meaning to phrases such as "the Land" when applied to Mambwe "tribal cohesion". But of what effective significance are land allocating activities of headmen since "once a man is accepted as a member of a village his rights to the land allocated to him by the headman are secure . . . he may dispose of his fields to fellow villagers as he pleases, but not to outsiders" (p. 98). It is vital to Watson's arguments concerning labour migration that many Mambwe men "live and die in their natal villages" (p. 227).

Dr Watson's penultimate chapter, "Mambwe External Politics," contains, among other things, an interesting account of Watchtower activities. Thus a literature on what is very often an aspect of political protest in Northern Rhodesia is emerging which will soon repay detailed comparative study. This chapter, like the entire work, ranges over a variety of topics. It must have been difficult to find a title for the book since the chapter "The Quest for Wages" does not stand out particularly, in the opinion of the present reviewer, as the book's main contribution to knowledge. The title which was chosen, however, draws attention in the words of Professor Gluckman's foreword to a "detailed interconnected analysis of how the Mambwe have profited from new economic opportunities by deploying their labour on two fronts" (p. vi). Let us then turn to this in a little

detail, at the risk of a somewhat lengthy review.

Dr Watson's and Professor Gluckman's theme is that "tribal cohesion" may remain despite the introduction of a cash economy, the considerable development of private property and, also relatively speaking, individual capital as well. There is also some evidence in this book that entry into the Mambwe political élite is now possible by persons whose claims to enter are not based on traditional criteria, but this is difficult to evaluate. Watson and Gluckman argue that the Mambwe participate in a new dimension of society, but that the effects of this on their customary mode of life have been only superficial. They contrast the Mambwe with the Bemba who are also—but not equally—engaged in wage labour. As Mambwe rural adaptation in this sphere is considerably better economically than is the case with the Bemba, Watson claims his study raises "the question whether patrilineal societies are better fitted than matrilineal societies to survive in conditions of rapid economic and social change" (p. 226).

The interest of Watson's data is that they do not raise this question at all. He argues that it is in the uxorilocality or virilocality of marriage (which he equates with the residential instability or stability of men), and co-operativeness in work among men, that the important factors lie. It is these therefore that a review should consider.

The contrast between the residential stability in villages of Bemba and Mambwe men does indeed seem to be well established. But on the subject of co-operativeness of Mambwe men, an inter-related analysis is lacking. One reads on one page that village groups of Mambwe men "will co-operate sufficiently for them consciously to plan their departures to work at labour centres so that they deploy their labour successfully on two fronts: that of subsistence agriculture and that of cash earning" (p. ix). On another one reads that "strife between brothers and father's brothers (who live in the same villages) is a constant theme of Mambwe life, and it is not limited to the families of title holders" (p. 153).

On the subject of absentee population Watson concludes that "provided the land is of good quality, and a village strongly knit round its agnatic core, half the men can go off without seriously hampering subsistence production" (p. 112). This is the "numerical measure" referred to in the foreword. But is it not misleading, one must ask, to state the matter only in terms of the absence of men rather than the absence of such and such a proportion of the population irrespective of sex, in view of Mambwe conditions? The only specialized Mambwe male agricultural activity is the lopping of trees, and this occurs "only once a year and can be successfully performed by a few men working together" (p. 112). Moreover, according to Watson's figures, roughly 40 per cent of the total Mambwe population cultivate grassland and not woodland where presumably there is scarcely any tree lopping to do at all. It was surely necessary for research on absenteeism among the Mambwe to break down the population according to residence in woodland, grassland and *chitemene* control zones. But perhaps this will be provided in due course in a publication arising from Watson's field-work from June, 1954, to September, 1955.

There is a general theme running through the text and the foreword of the book under review, as well as Dr Watson's 'Migrant labour and detribalization' in the *Bulletin of the Inter-Africa Labour Institute*, and Professor Gluckman's 'Tribalism in British Central Africa' in *Cahiers d'études Africaines*, which I should like to comment on in conclusion. It is that "tribalism thus survives as a whole system of political and domestic relations. Government has supported the chiefs" (p. x), and references to the "enduring structure of the tribe" (p. xiv), "membership of the tribe" (p. 212), "[they] adhered to their tribal loyalties" (p. 226). Behind these phrases, is the anthropologist's aim to emphasise that 'detribalization' is not a necessary concomitant of labour migration. But the state of affairs these generalizations convey is one contrary to the situation which emerges from details in the book under review, as well as in

Professor Gluckman's own writing. Notions of 'membership' and 'loyalty' in societies such as that of the Mambwe are often only insignificantly related to 'tribe'. Certainly this is the case with regard to land usage rights for example in rural areas of Northern Rhodesia where inter-tribal marriage occurs, so far as is known. And to speak of an 'enduring tribal structure' as if no part of it has changed nor will change short of revolutionized agricultural methods being introduced, for example, and as if it had been there since time immemorial, is to be obscure.

Part of the difficulty lies with the term 'tribe', 'tribal loyalties' and worst of all 'tribalism'. The sorcery of which successful men in Mambwe society are suspected (p. 123) is indeed an example of the importance today of sorcery beliefs. But is this a persistence of 'tribalism'? And is a study pre-eminently of village organization, one from which to conclude this or that about 'tribal' structure? Possibly the very concept of 'Mambwe tribe' is a creation, in the main, of unities inculcated by indirect rule, and 'residence in a village' is more germane to many of Watson's arguments (e.g. on land use rights, e.g. p. 7) than anything involving 'tribe'. If "industrial employment has enhanced the value of tribal ties and loyalty to chiefs" (p. 6) are these 'ties' and 'loyalty' exactly of the pre-existing kind, whatever they were? There is considerable reason, in the opinion of the reviewer, to abandon speaking about 'tribal society' for a basic sociological reason that this obscures the sectorial structure of society. A striking analogy is to be drawn from Professor Gluckman's foreword. He remarks, most aptly, that positional succession is "political kinship" which "is quite different from kinship links in domestic and personal life . . . it [is] confusing to speak any longer of 'kinship systems'. There are political and domestic and other relations, affected by different types of kinship" (p. xiv). I suggest it is similarly confusing to speak any longer of 'tribal systems'.

Another part of the difficulty lies with the concept 'cohesion'. It is, if anything,

less events or activities themselves which cohere, or do not cohere, than the concepts and conceptual schemes brought to bear on them. Coherence is to be looked for particularly in the explanations of events, rather than the events themselves, from the specifically sociological point of view. To examine this aspect of our subject, however, would take us too far from the book under review. It is part of the merit of this book that it is based on field-work which clearly has gained from not concentrating on the collecting of labour histories for instance, to the extent of ignoring various other aspects of society. But the book is marred, not graced, by such statements as "In Central Africa the chief has retained his authority, with which the solidarity of the tribe is intimately bound up, throughout the whole period of direct and indirect rule and the development of industry" (p. 5) for they give a misleading impression of uniformity and fixation in society.

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The Sick African. A Clinical Study.

MICHAEL GELFAND. Third Edition.
Juta & Co. Ltd., Cape Town, 1957.
866 pp. 7s. 6d.

The text is well, though not lavishly, illustrated with black and white photographs. Despite its enlargement from 373 pages in the first edition and 682 pages in the second, this book still 'does not pretend to be a textbook' but, as the retained subtitle indicates and as the preface to the present edition reaffirms, a clinical study based primarily on the author's personal experience, mainly in Southern Africa, and supplemented by his reading. So wide is his experience—and also his reading, as evidenced by a bibliography of over 1,300 entries—that Dr Gelfand has succeeded admirably in his avowed aim 'to provide the medical practitioner with an idea of the diseases he is likely to meet in Africa, how these conditions manifest themselves and how they differ in appearance from those elsewhere.' This is not to say that his medical

colleagues, particularly those practising in parts of Africa far from Rhodesia, will agree with all the views that he has expressed. As he himself points out, 'Africa is a large and complex continent with opinions, customs and beliefs as diverse as its problems.'

In a review for a non-medical journal it is unnecessary to comment upon controversial matters of interest only to clinicians; but attention may be drawn to the scant reference to immunisation against whooping cough and to the absence of any reference at all to immunisation against infantile paralysis. Effective vaccines are available against both diseases and, in view of the high incidence and mortality of whooping cough among Africans and of the increasing incidence of infantile paralysis which will probably accompany increasing urbanisation, full details of their use should find mention.

In the first and last chapters—'The Patient' and 'Some Considerations of the Effect of Certain African Diseases'—Dr Gelfand shows his interest in and understanding of human ecology from the viewpoint of a clinician. His views are not merely of academic interest but should be considered carefully by all those who are concerned in the planning and administration of all those services, not only medical, which have as their objective the improvement of health—physical, mental, and social—among Africans. Of special value is his exposition of the effects of the beliefs of the 'unsophisticated' African, regarding the causation of sickness, upon his utilisation of scientifically based medical services even when these are available; and he stresses the indispensability of education for the ultimate elimination of these beliefs. At the biological level, his discussion of malaria, bilharziasis, hookworm and other infestations suggests that, at least in areas of high endemicity, the great majority of Africans achieve a coexistence with their parasites which may be more satisfactory than the results of 'control' measures which fall short of complete eradication.

Somewhat surprisingly, the designation

'Native' is used in the text perhaps more often than 'African'. It would doubtless make the book more acceptable to the increasing number of African doctors now emerging from the medical schools of the continent, to whom it is strongly recommended, were this anomaly removed from subsequent editions.

G.W.G.

Shona Ritual. MICHAEL GELFAND. Juta & Co., Cape Town. 1959. 206 pp., index, 29 photographs. 37s. 6d.

Dr Gelfand is a physician, not a social anthropologist. It is this fact which makes the task of a reviewer a difficult one, because he cannot help reading this book with mixed feelings. If this had been the result of a study by a trained anthropologist, one would have to condemn it for its almost complete lack of analysis. But since it embodies the fruits of a layman's patient spare-time search for, and the faithful recording of, the curiosities of African ritual behaviour, the reviewer must adopt different criteria of judgment.

This is a purely descriptive record of several Shona ritual activities and the various functionaries who perform them. As such it is the fullest enumeration yet of the diversity of Shona ritual performances, the different categories of performers, and the distinctive tools and regalia used by them. In this respect Dr Gelfand's study is valuable as a work of reference, and therefore deserves our gratitude.

Readers will find information relating to a great many different spiritual media, representing a variety of spiritual cults, on how they happened to take up their call, how they are dressed and equipped, when and how they set about their performance. After careful reading of this vast amount of (often repetitious) information, certain generalities will emerge, which the author, however, leaves to his reader to formulate. As also certain significant variants, the significance of which is, again, left to the reader to guess.

A third of the book deals with the 'Chaminuka cult', or rather with the Shona rain

cult in which Chaminuka, a potent Mhondoro (tribal spirit) and his living medium, play a vital part, together with a great number of other, mostly lesser, colleagues. Dr Gelfand's information is a tantalizing contribution to the growing awareness among students of Southern Rhodesian tribal society that these spiritual forces are somehow interconnected and framed in a vast supra-tribal hierarchy, with Chaminuka at, or very close to, the top. It is a pity that the author's list of Chaminuka's fellow spirits (provided by Chaminuka's medium himself) gives no indication of structural relationship and therefore fails to bring us closer to the answer.

This brings me to the one question which might greatly have enhanced the value of this book. The foreword refers to the dearth of recent anthropological writing on the subject of Shona ritual. This is substantially true if one looks upon tribal ritual as an isolated compartment of tribal life and culture. But modern and substantial anthropological studies have been published in recent years, and these do attempt to reveal the very structure of Shona society and relationships within which also ritual finds its place and meaning. Moreover, the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (like Dr Gelfand's headquarters, in Salisbury) has from the beginning staffed its Department of African Studies with experts on Central African tribal society. It puzzles me that Dr Gelfand does not appear to have consulted any of these sources, which were so readily available to him.

J.F.H.

Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand.

MAX GLUCKMAN. Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 28. Manchester University Press. 1958. x + 77 pp., ill. 8s. 6d.

This is an analysis of the situation which existed in 1938 between Zulu and European in Zululand. It is not easily readable, but the trouble taken to understand it is amply repaid. The method used was to record and

analyse a very ordinary social situation (the detailed description is in itself a useful object-lesson to beginners in field-work) and then to advance an hypothesis, viz. that the two groups, European and Zulu, although differentiated from each other, co-operate and form a single functional unit, and that this unity includes the whole of Zululand society.

The history of Zululand, from pre-European times to 1938, is then traced and analysed as a social structure which passed through a series of equilibria followed by disequilibria.

The third part of the paper deals with "some processes of social change", to use the author's modest understatement.

The first hypothesis, i.e. that Zululand society may be regarded as combining to form a functioning unit could, I feel, be amended to a tripartite division of European, Zulu, and Zulu-and-European-in-interaction, which ramification would clarify the analysis and enable it to be carried further. The second hypothesis, that of successive equilibria and disequilibria, is interesting but could have been of greater value if an examination of the effects of changing scale had been included in the historical analysis.

This paper was first published as a series of essays in *Bantu Studies* in 1940, and its successor, *African Studies*, in 1942, and it must be eminently satisfying to Professor Gluckman (as it is encouraging to the reader) to see the validity with which the principles advanced in the third part of the paper may be applied to processes of social change in 1960. Although his "modern Zululand" is that of 22 years ago, Professor Gluckman's analysis of this type of situation is a profound and helpful guide to the understanding of present-day developments. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute is to be congratulated on having persuaded Professor Gluckman out of his modest reluctance to republish this most stimulating addition to the science of social anthropology.

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The Mugwe, A Failing Prophet. B. BERNARDI, I.M.C. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, London. 1959. xiv + 211 pp., map, 7 illustrations. 25s.

In the words of the sub-title this book is a study of 'a religious and public dignitary of the Meru of Kenya.' The Meru 'tribe', numbering 300,000 persons, is made up of nine sub-tribes, of which the Imenti, with 91,000 in 1948, is the largest. Traditionally the tribe did not form a political unit, yet there was a sense of cohesion among all Meru, their unity being 'of a territorial, social, and linguistic . . . nature'. Administrative measures, particularly the forming of a separate Meru Land Unit in 1956, have tended to accentuate this tribal unity.

As with those of other peoples of the area, in fact, the Meru traditional political structure is characterized by the absence of any centralized authority, even at the sub-tribal level. Clans constitute political, ceremonial and land-holding groups, although they do not constitute territorial groups at present. Corporate activity of the clan, also political activity, is controlled by the clan elders. Within some sub-tribes there is a grouping of clans to form a dual division. A characteristic feature of Meru social structure is the system of age-sets grouped into age-classes (also referred to as generation-sets in the literature¹), alternate age-classes being grouped together in two divisions. The *njuri*-association, consisting of 'selected elders who have passed through a series of special initiation rites and paid established fees' is grafted onto the larger age-class organization.

The individual *Mugwe* (pl. *Agwe*) functions at the sub-tribal level. In some sub-tribes two or more persons are referred to as *Agwe*, but there is only one 'proper' *Mugwe* for each sub-tribe. Four smaller sub-tribes have never had any *Agwe*. The office is hereditary, but character and ability may be of more importance than primogeniture when the *Mugwe* nominates his successor from amongst his sons or lineage members.

The *Mugwe's* most important official activities take the form of blessings affecting the well-being of the whole sub-tribe, particularly on important occasions in connexion with the age-class system. It is characteristic of the institution that the *Mugwe* 'could not be concerned with individuals and their petty problems'. He is not of the same order as the ordinary *mugaa* (medicine-man).

The author stresses the possibility of the *Mugwe's* extending his authority into the field of political activity, and for this reason prefers 'to regard the *Mugwe* as a prophet, a leader with both religious and political powers, rather than a priest'. On his own documentation, however, it appears that the *Mugwe's* role is essentially of a ritual nature, while his political influence, although significant in myth, appears to be incidental to the functioning of the institution as described in this book. Incidentally, it seems rather questionable to choose to call the *Mugwe* a priest rather than a prophet because of his *political powers*. Surely it is quite common for priests also to have political roles: we need not look any further than the Jewish high-priests in New Testament times.

Throughout, Father Bernardi seeks to bring out the significance of the *Mugwe* institution for Meru social structure. This is particularly obvious in respect of the age-class system. Further, the *Mugwe* and his insignia are the symbols of the society's cohesion, continuity and well-being, especially that of the sub-tribe. The highly secret *kiragu* may be regarded as 'the secret mystery that holds together Imenti society'. On the other hand the institution as such is also a symbol of the cohesion of all Meru. This is particularly stressed in an early chapter which shows how well the institution is established in Meru mythology. "In the mythology there is 'a sort of identification between Ugwe and 'Meru-ness', between the *Mugwe* and the Meru . . . It follows that to be genuinely a Meru one must live under the *Mugwe*" (pp. 75-76). In a final

¹Middleton, John. *The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya*, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, International African Institute, London, 1953.

chapter the failure of the *Mugwe* institution under modern conditions is related to various changes in the life of the Meru. In thus relating the institution to the whole social structure, traditional and modern, the author has made a valuable contribution to anthropological literature.

As a description of a less-known type of ritual office making for tribal cohesion in a society in which there is no delegation of authority to some centralized organization headed by a chief, the book represents an important addition to African ethnography.

There are, however, one or two serious omissions. The author's concern with social structure seems to have caused the neglect of such important background material as that dealing with economy and religion. We are given hardly any indication of the Meru's mode of settlement and subsistence.

The relation of the *Mugwe* institution to the economy is only hinted at, where, in a foot-note, the importance of honey-beer as the insignia of the *Mugwe* among the Tharaka, is related to the importance of honey in Tharaka economy (p. 100). The *Mugwe*'s concern for the material well-being of his people, his protecting of the seeds (p. 104), the type of medicines in the *kiragu* pot (honey, millet, sorghum, beans, maize—p. 103) and the mention of honey, millet, goats and cattle in blessings of the *Mugwe*, all suggest the relevance of the economic background to an understanding of the *Mugwe* institution.

More serious still is the scanty nature of details about the Meru system of religious belief and ritual. In view of the religious nature of the *Mugwe*'s office, a more detailed

account of Meru religion and magic appears essential. While other authors give the impression that the ancestor cult is of minor significance among the Meru,² Bernardi states that 'in the everyday life of the individual, the presence of the spirits of the ancestors is much more felt than the presence of God.' Beyond this he tells us very little about the relation of the ancestors to God, and does not discuss this contradiction between his own findings and other sources. For the proper evaluation of the fact that the *Mugwe* approaches God, rather than the ancestors, the clarification of this point is essential.

The material on modern conditions also leaves us in doubt about certain matters. One would, for example, very much like to know what the relation of the modern institution of chieftainship is to that of the *Mugwe*. An opposition between government chief and *Mugwe* is hinted at in the introduction, but further we are given no indication of the role of a government chief.

Apparently research methods were confined to interviews with the living *Agwe* and a large number of other informants, there being little opportunity of observing the *Mugwe* in action in his official capacity. This inevitably leaves the impression of remoteness, as if the institution described has not really come to life. However, the author can hardly be blamed for the fact that, as he puts it, his research 'came slightly late'.

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²Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 66, and Lambert, H. E. *The Systems of Land Tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit*, Communications from the School of African Studies (New Series no. 22), University of Cape Town, 1950.